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THE SPANISH REVOLUTION



France
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GENERAL PRIM



E. H. Strobel: Spanish Revolution
Small, Maynard & Company, Boston

THE
SPANISH REVOLUTION

1868-1875

By

EDWARD HENRY STROBEL

*Late Secretary of the United States Legation
and Chargé d' Affaires at Madrid*



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PREFACE.

The Revolution of 1868 is the most interesting period in the modern history of Spain. It marks the transition from the Spain of Ferdinand VII. and Isabella II. to the Spain of Alfonso XII. and the Regency, and it forms, at the same time, an episode entirely distinct from the history which precedes and follows it. This sketch was written in the early part of 1893, from materials collected during my residence in Madrid from 1888 to 1890 as Secretary of the United States Legation, with the intention at some future day of making it a part of a larger work. The manuscript was laid aside when I re-entered the public service in April, 1893. On my return from South America a short time ago, I read the manuscript again, and it seemed to me that it might be of interest at this time. In preparing the book for the press, I have been indebted to the continuous helpfulness of my friend, Mr. Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Library. Although, as I have said, the history of the Revolution stands apart from the periods before and after, and although the aims of its promoters were doomed to failure, it is but just to remember that the Revolution bore good fruit in the improved method of government which has distinguished the reign of Alfonso XII. and the Regency, and in the twenty years of tranquillity enjoyed by the country from the date of the Restoration to the breaking out of the insurrection in Cuba.

E. H. S.

June, 1898.

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CHAPTER I

THE FALL OF ISABELLA II

(September 19—September 30, 1868.)

IN the early morning of September 19, 1868, there was great tumult in the ancient city of Cadiz. The windows, balconies, and roofs of its white houses, its walls and fortifications, which seem to rise from the blue waves of the Mediterranean, were covered with people, and the long street facing the harbour was filled with an excited crowd. All eyes were turned seaward to watch the movements of the fleet. The frigates Saragossa, Villa de Madrid, Tetuan, Vulcan, and nine other vessels were drawn up in battle array, with the Admiral's ensign flying from the mast-head of the Saragossa. Soon the harbour resounded with a salute of twenty-one guns from the fleet, which was answered by the acclamations of the people on the shore. This undue disturbance among the dwellers of a city where the commercial activity of former ages has declined into a persistent tranquillity, was kindled by the following proclamations, which, on the day before, had been published and scattered broadcast through the city:—

“People of Cadiz: A sailor who is under obligations to you for marked distinctions, and who has been your representative in Parliament, addresses you in explanation of an event of the gravest import. This event is the hostile attitude of the navy toward the unhappy government which guides the destinies of the nation. Expect from my pen no beauties of style; only make ready to listen to the truth. Our

unhappy country has for years submitted to the most horrible dictatorship; our fundamental laws have been shattered; the rights of the citizens ridiculed; a fictitious basis of representation created; the bond uniting the people and the throne, and forming the constitutional monarchy, has been completely broken.

“There is no necessity for proclaiming these facts, they are in the knowledge of all. If it were not so I would call to mind the right of legislation which the Government has exercised exclusively in its own behalf. It has at the same time aggravated the wrong by the cynical pretence of securing the approval of these laws from a so-called Cortes, which has not even been allowed to discuss the decrees brought before it, to such a degree was the Government distrustful of its own followers. That my words are not exaggerated, is proved by the character of the laws regarding the methods of administering the different branches of the Government, the law concerning public order and printing, and the law of public instruction, — the absolute negation of every liberal doctrine.

“Passing from the sphere of politics to that of finance, we find that there have been recent emissions, loans, and an increase of taxes of every kind. What has become of the proceeds? You know how they have been squandered. The navy, the support of the merchant marine and the protector of commerce, knows and deplures it as well as you. The navy, which a short time ago was proclaimed the glory of the country, now sees its arsenals deserted, its labourers destitute, its forces dispirited. This gloomy picture is a living portraiture of the immoral

ity of the Government. Evils of such magnitude demand corresponding remedies. Unfortunately, legal redress is forbidden us. We are compelled to appeal to illegal, to heroic measures. With this explanation of the motives of myself and my companions, I shall now tell you of our aspirations.

“We desire that the legitimate powers — the people and the throne — should perform their functions within the orbit marked out for them by the Constitution. We desire to re-establish between them the harmony which has been destroyed and the bond which has been broken. We desire that a Cortes, especially assembled for that purpose, by loyal effort and by taking advantage of the oft-repeated lessons of a fatal experience, shall decide upon the best methods for the foundation of a genuine constitutional monarchy. We desire that the rights of the citizen shall be respected by the Government, and that the sacred principle which is inherent in the name of citizen shall be recognized. We desire that the Treasury shall be administered in accordance with a spirit of morality and enlightenment; that it shall relieve burdens, extinguish restrictions, and give a wide field to the exercise of every legitimate industry, as well as to individual activity and individual talent.

“These are, briefly expressed, my aspirations and those of my companions. Will you give them your support without distinction of party, and forgetting slight differences which are injurious to the country? If you so act, you will labour for the happiness of our native land. May we not hope to obtain the support of all? Let each do good who has the strength to do

it. Our aims do not spring from our affection for any party. We belong to none; we recognise the good will of all, since we suppose that all are eager for the good of the country. This is the banner which this fleet unfurls.

“Let no one fear that this act means our estrangement from the army, or that we are impelled by selfish motives. If to-day we humble mariners rush forth to take the place of others who have a greater claim, we do this in obedience to pressing motives. Let the others come to our aid; let not only the army but the statesmen and the people seize the banner which we have unfurled. Of all we make only one demand, a place of honour in the combat. This and the satisfaction of our own consciences are the sole rewards to which we aspire.

“Since the greatest movements are usually accompanied by catastrophes which dim their brightness and give comfort to the enemy, I believe that I am doing a service to the Liberal cause by being prepared, with the aid of my companions, to restrain every excess. Liberty is inconceivable without order, without respect for persons and things. People of Cadiz, I believe that I show myself worthy of your affection by placing myself in the vanguard of the contest which begins to-day and which you will sustain with your customary valour. I discharge my obligation to you by this explanation of my conduct, its motives and its aims. To you alone I address myself. Let those speak to the nation who have the authority to do so. JUAN BAUTISTA TOPETE.

“CADIZ BAY, on board the Saragossa,
September 17, 1868.”

This proclamation of Admiral Topete was the beginning of the Spanish Revolution of 1868. It is indefinite in its allegations. No open attack was made upon the dynasty; but it meant that the fleet at Cadiz was in rebellion against the established Government, and that the movement thus begun was to bring to an end a reign which had opened under the best auspices.

In the struggle between the adherents of the brother and the daughter of Ferdinand VII., which had devastated Spain from 1833 to 1839, Don Carlos represented absolutism and clericalism, while the cause of Isabella was identified with the liberal tendencies of the country, which had been ruthlessly suppressed during the previous reign by the intervention of the Holy Alliance and by the French occupation.¹ The Queen was regarded by the mass of her supporters as the representative not only of hereditary right, but of the hopes of free institutions, constitutional government, and a monarchy of new ideas. The failure of these hopes resulted not only from the character of the Queen herself, impatient as she was of constitutional restrictions, but also from the willingness of certain of her advisers to accept her views of her prerogatives and to encourage her in a policy of reaction. The reign of Isabella II. was consequently a period of political excesses, of vain efforts at reform, and of insurrections, disregarded as warnings and followed by harsh measures of repression, which were to culminate in a successful attack upon the throne and the expulsion of the dynasty.

General Prim, accompanied by Sagasta and Ruiz

¹ Under the Duke of Angoulême, 1823-1827.

Zorilla, had arrived from England on the night of the 17th. The generals in exile in the Canary Islands with General Serrano, Duke de la Torre, who was to place himself at the head of the insurrection, had not yet been heard from. Topete, after consultation with Prim, determined to issue his proclamation and to define his position at once without waiting for the arrival of the other generals. At the same time he was disposed to leave the more distinct enunciation of aims and principles to the men whose political positions and career were more conspicuous than his own.

The proclamation which Prim addressed, not to the people of Cadiz alone, but to the whole of Spain, was more vigorous in its appeal and more explicit in its declarations, as is shown by the following paragraphs:—

“To arms, citizens, to arms!

“Let this war-cry be to-day the sole cry of all good Spaniards. Let all Liberals during the contest blot out their former differences and make upon the altar of their country the sacrifice of painful recollections. In a word, in the great Liberal community, let there be but a sole purpose, — combat; a sole aim, — victory; a sole banner, — the regeneration of the country.

“To destroy in the midst of tumult the obstacles which systematically oppose the welfare of nations, is the mission of armed revolution. To reconstruct in the midst of calm and reflection is the proposed aim of those nations who desire to conquer their sovereignty by their valour, and who know how to make themselves worthy of self-government by prudently preserving the sovereignty they have won. Let us,

then, suddenly destroy what time and progress ought, step by step, to have transformed, but let us not venture too soon upon solutions which circumstances may in the future make incapable of realisation. Let us not prejudge questions which may weaken us for the combat and enfeeble the sovereignty of the nation. Whenever calm is born anew and reflection takes the place of force, then parties can raise their banners without danger, and the people, in the use of their sovereignty, can establish such a constitution as they see fit. For this purpose they can seek in universal suffrage all the guarantees which they believe to be necessary to the conquest of their liberties and the enjoyment of their rights.

“JUAN PRIM.”

The first response to these appeals came on the 18th from the little town of San Fernando, near Cadiz. The revenue officers and a company of infantry in barracks at that post hastened to place themselves under the command of General Primo de Rivera, one of the leaders of the movement. Not until the morning of the 19th did the city of Cadiz itself put on the appearance of open insurrection. The regiment of Cantabria, which was quartered in the city, joined the movement and placed itself at the disposal of Colonel Merelo, one of the political refugees who had been for some days concealed in the city. The civil guards sided with the populace whom they had been ordered to disperse. The telegraph lines were cut to prevent the summons of government forces from Seville. The proclamation of the governor declaring martial law made no impres-

sion upon the inhabitants, who knew that the troops would not execute any orders of repression.

As soon as they learned of the success of their proclamations, Prim and Topete hastened to land and make their entry into Cadiz, where they were welcomed by the enthusiastic cheers of the inhabitants. The military governor of the city resigned his command, and a revolutionary junta was formed, with Topete as President. In the afternoon of the same day, the Buena Ventura, bringing the exiled generals, was signalled. Knowing nothing of the pronunciamiento, they intended to remain on the high sea until night; but the Vulcan, the frigate which had carried them into exile to the Canary Islands, went to meet the Buena Ventura and informed her passengers of the event. The generals were received by Topete and Prim, and after a consultation another and more extended manifesto was addressed to the Spaniards and signed by all the leaders of the movement.

This manifesto, of a style similar to the two preceding, began by calling attention to the action of the city of Cadiz in refusing obedience to the Madrid Government and thus interpreting the feelings of those citizens who, with long exercise of patience, had not lost the sentiment of personal dignity. If an extended examination were made of the causes of an occurrence of such gravity, it would be more difficult to justify in the eyes of the world the submissiveness with which these evils had been borne than the extreme resolution which had been taken to end them. "The Treasury abounds in immorality, the press is mute, and the universal silence is only

interrupted by the frequent notices of new and unexpected elevations, of some corrupt scheme; of some royal order, issued for the purpose of defrauding the public treasury; of titles of Castile bestowed with vile prodigality, the high price attained by dishonour and vice." The navy had always been foreign to political disturbances, and its appearance at the head of the movement showed that it was not a political party which complained, and that the question was not confined to the field of politics. It was a struggle for existence and decency. Order should be kept by a provisional government, while universal suffrage was laying the foundations of social and political regeneration. For the successful attainment of these objects, reliance was placed upon the sympathetic aid of all Liberals, of the lovers of order, of the partisans of individual liberties, of the ministers of the Gospel, and upon the enthusiasm of the whole people and the approbation of the whole of Europe.

The example of Cadiz and San Fernando was followed by Jerez, Puerto Real, and San Lucar de Barrameda. In Seville, Vasallo, the captain-general of the province, found that the troops had mutinied at the instigation of General Izquierdo, his second in command, who had pledged himself to effect the insurrection of the whole garrison. Having failed in his efforts to induce the regiments to return to their allegiance, the captain-general resigned his command and retired to Gibraltar. The provisional junta published a manifesto proclaiming universal suffrage, absolute freedom of the press, religious liberty, free trade, the abolition of the death penalty and of the existing constitution, and the substitution

of voluntary enlistment in the army for conscription. It closed with the words, "Liberty forever! Down with the dynasty! Long live the sovereignty of the nation!" This was the first manifesto that gave to the movement a distinctly political and radical character, and marked a long step in advance of the proclamations at Cadiz.

The news of the complete success of the insurrection in the chief city of Andalusia was received by the generals at Cadiz with great rejoicing. It was decided in a council of war that Serrano should take command of the garrisons of Cadiz and Seville, and whatever other troops could be collected in order to advance and give battle to the forces of the Government. Topete was to remain at Cadiz at the head of the revolutionary junta. Prim, with three frigates, was to set out for the east coast, in order to gain over all the important places on the Mediterranean as far as Barcelona. On the 20th and 21st, Malaga, Granada, Cordova, Huelva, Algeciras, San Roque, and Lucena threw in their lot with the insurgents. The whole of Andalusia was in arms.

On the 22nd, in an order of the day, General Serrano made the following announcement to the people of Seville: "To-morrow I shall be in the midst of you, and with our united forces we will begin our march to Madrid to establish the provisional government and to crown our noble enterprise."

Telegrams from the Governor of Cadiz on September 18 informed the Madrid Ministry of the arrival of General Prim and the pronunciamiento of the fleet at Cadiz. Martial law was immediately proclaimed in the city, and the Ministers at the capital tele-

graphed to Gonzalez Bravo, the President of the Council of Ministers, who was at San Sebastian with the Queen and court, requesting his immediate return. On learning the details of the insurrection, the Prime Minister placed his resignation in the hands of the Queen, with the assurance that the nature of the crisis required that a military man of distinction and of influence with the army should be placed at the head of the Government. This advice was accepted by the Queen, who, after some consultation, appointed Captain-General José de la Concha, Marquis of Havana, giving him the portfolio of War. He was at San Sebastian at the time, but immediately left by special train for Madrid, where he arrived on the morning of the 20th.

The new President of the Council regarded his rôle as military and not political. His aim was to save the dynasty, if possible. On the afternoon of the 20th he received the resignation of the Ministers, who immediately left Madrid. After stopping in San Sebastian long enough to pay their respects to the Queen, in company with Gonzalez Bravo, all except the Minister of Foreign Affairs crossed the French frontier and took up their residence in Bayonne. Concha replaced them with no new appointments, except in the Navy department, which was accepted by General Estrada. The Marquis of Roncali, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the last cabinet, was requested to retain his office and to continue in attendance on the Queen. No political appointments to office were made, and the military governors of the provinces were charged with the functions of the civil governors wherever vacancies occurred. The

whole of Spain was divided into four military districts: 1st, Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre, under Captain-General Pezuela, Count of Cheste; 2nd, New Castile and Valencia, under Captain-General Manuel de la Concha, Marquis del Duero, brother of the President of the Council; 3rd, Old Castile, Asturias, Galicia, and the Basque Provinces, under Lieutenant-General Calonge; and, 4th, Estremadura and Andalusia, under Captain-General Pavia, Marquis of Novaliches. Each of these officers was ordered to take immediate command of the district assigned to him.

This measure checked the spread of the insurrection in the North and East. It was admitted by all that the fate of Isabella of Bourbon would be decided in the South; and the rest of the country awaited anxiously the result of the conflict in Andalusia. The Minister of War exerted himself to the utmost in organizing from the material at his disposal the army corps which, under the orders of the Marquis of Novaliches, was to operate against the forces of General Serrano, Duke de la Torre. On the 27th, Novaliches had at his orders 16 battalions of infantry, 14 squadrons of cavalry, 1 brigade of artillery with 32 pieces, or in all about 9000 men and 1200 horses. One regiment of hussars was commanded by the Count of Girgenti, the husband of the Infanta Isabella and son-in-law of the Queen. The royal army was intrenched upon the right bank of the Guadalquivir and in control of the defiles of the Sierra Morena.

The army collected by the Duke de la Torre, who had hastened from Seville to Cordova, occupied the

left bank of the Guadalquivir. It was composed of 17 battalions of infantry, 8 squadrons of cavalry, and 24 pieces of artillery, in addition to civil guards and irregular volunteers. The army of the Government was inferior in infantry, but on the other hand had a material advantage over that of Serrano by its great superiority in cavalry and artillery, — the 24 pieces of the latter being Krupp guns of much longer reach and greater accuracy than the bronze eight-centimetre guns of the insurgents.

Determined to exhaust all measures for arriving at an amicable settlement before fighting, General Serrano, on September 27, sent the poet, Adelardo Lopez de Ayala, as envoy to Novaliches with a letter, in which he recited the names of the towns which had joined the movement, and called attention to the inadvisability of exciting by resistance passions hitherto restrained. "In the name of humanity and your own conscience," said the letter, "I beg of you to allow me to prosecute the march upon which I have resolved. I urge you to unite yourself to the troops under my command, so as not to deprive your own soldiers of the glory of helping to assure the honour and liberty of their country." Novaliches received the messenger with courtesy, and sent an answer expressing his regret that Serrano should be at the head of the insurgent forces and that old comrades should have to cross bayonets. This, he continued, could only be avoided by recognising the existing order of things, and whatever the result might be, it was not he who had provoked the conflict.

After this exchange of correspondence, on the same day, the Marquis of Novaliches received a telegram

from the President of the Council of Ministers at Madrid, announcing that the situation on the Mediterranean coast, where Prim had appeared before Valencia, made it absolutely necessary that he should obtain an immediate victory.

The traveller on the line from Madrid to Cordova may to-day see the bridge of Alcolea, which spans the Guadalquivir at about six miles from the latter city. Even from the window of his railway carriage, he has time to observe the difference in the formation of the land on the two sides of the river. The right bank is a level plain; on the left the spurs of the Sierra Morena extend to the river and make a broken country, covered with trees and difficult of approach. The bridge is of stone, has nineteen arches, and is about 340 metres in length. It is not constructed in a straight line, but makes an obtuse angle with the current of the river, — a construction which rescues it from an enfilade of artillery.

The plan of the commander-in-chief of the royal army was to advance on both sides of Guadalquivir toward Cordova, after having secured possession of the bridge. He therefore ordered General de la Vega to advance with the cavalry and seize the bridge, and Brigadier-General Lacy, with a battalion of infantry, to cross the river at Montoro, advance to Villafranca, a town about six miles from the bridge, and there to form a junction with other troops. This plan, based upon the capture of the bridge, was of necessity changed when it was discovered by the Royalists that the bridge was already held by the Liberals. General de la Vega instead of advancing was forced to fall back upon Carpio. Novaliches

now determined to attack the bridge in front with all his forces, in order to draw the army of Serrano down to the river, away from the slopes of the Sierra Morena; this would enable Lacy to descend upon the right wing of the enemy. Such a modification of the original plan required that reinforcements be sent to Lacy, who would not have sufficient forces to execute the new commission assigned to him. General Echeverria was ordered to support him with four battalions, and to take command of the operations on the left side of the river. In order to give him time to arrive at his destination, a halt of the main body was ordered.

Lacy had left Villafranca on the 28th at day-break, and had taken possession of the heights on the right bank, in front of those already held by the enemy. He could see the movements of the army of Novaliches, but knew nothing of the occupation of the bridge of Alcolea by the enemy nor of the orders given to Echeverria. The detention of the main body and the apparent inactivity of the commander-in-chief caused him great inquietude, for extraordinary commotion was observed in the hostile camp, and the whistle of the locomotives announced the arrival of reinforcements, while enthusiastic shouts of "Long live Serrano!" showed the presence of the Duke de la Torre. Believing that his road was obstructed by superior forces, he determined to make no attempt to advance.

At two o'clock in the afternoon a message was brought that General Serrano desired an interview with him. In this interview the commander of the Liberal army called attention to the difficult position

of Lacy's slender forces between the river and his own army, showed how easy it would be to crush him by advancing upon him with all his troops, and invited him to join in the movement, as the most heroic efforts would be impotent to defend the throne of Isabella against the arms of the entire nation. Lacy replied that he had no authority to come to any decision on the proposition, but that he would report the communication to the Marquis of Novaliches. At the close of the interview Serrano stated that he had done everything to avoid bloodshed; that he would not begin the attack, and that Lacy might retire or remain as he saw fit. At the moment of Lacy's return to camp he was informed of the arrival of General Echeverria, who sent word to the Duke de la Torre that he was going to begin the attack in spite of the numerous forces against him. He stated that he gave this notification in return for the chivalrous treatment of Lacy. Serrano now concluded that the time for generosity was past, and determined to attempt to dispose of Echeverria before receiving the onset of the main body of the enemy. He therefore ordered the whole of the first division of the army to attack the Royalists' position; and the engagement began on the right bank of the Guadalquivir, between this division and the battalions of Echeverria and Lacy.

Since the day was already far advanced, Novaliches had determined not to begin the battle until the following morning, when the sound of the firing informed him that the division of Echeverria was already engaged. He then hastened with all his forces along the left bank of the Guadalquivir in the direction of

the bridge of Alcolea. When he arrived at the bridge, it was almost four o'clock in the afternoon. In drawing up his forces for the battle, he placed in the first line all his artillery, supported by the battalions of the second infantry division. On his wings was the cavalry, ready to charge in case the Revolutionary forces should cross the bridge and deploy in the open plain.

Superiority in artillery gave the first advantage to the Royalists, and the fire of the Liberals began to decline through lack of ammunition. Desirous of sustaining this advantage, Novaliches resolved to force the bridge at the point of the bayonet, and for this purpose he formed his infantry into four attacking columns, which were to be supported by the cavalry and artillery. Night had already fallen when the first column advanced at ordinary pace; but, unfortunately for the royal troops, a burning farmhouse in the neighbourhood illuminated the bridge. The company at the head of the column gave way under the terrible discharge of musketry which greeted its advance. Novaliches himself, surrounded by his staff, then placed himself at the head of the column, and with the cry of "Long live the Queen!" led in person the second charge upon the bridge. The second charge was repulsed as the first had been, and the Marquis of Novaliches was himself dangerously wounded.

The fall of the commander-in-chief decided the fate of the battle. The first column of the royal army kept up the firing until eight o'clock in the evening. The artillery also continued a desultory cannonade, but neither the Royalists nor the Liberals made any

serious attempt to dislodge their opponents from their respective positions. At half-past eight the firing ceased. General Paredes took command of the royal army, but ordered the main body to withdraw to Carpio, whence it had advanced in the morning. General Echeverria, who had in the meantime held his position with great difficulty, made preparations to continue the combat on the following day; but about midnight he received an order from General Paredes to fall back upon Montoro. The insurgents, who had laboured industriously during the night in order to place in position a battery of sixty cannons from Seville, were surprised in the morning to find that the enemy had totally disappeared. The losses on both sides were large, when we consider the small number of troops engaged: in the royal army 690 men, 63 officers, and 2 generals; in the insurgent army 800 men, including officers.

On October 2 Serrano succeeded in arranging with Paredes for a capitulation of the royal forces, on the condition that they should receive the same treatment as that accorded to his own troops, — a concession, as he expressed it, entirely in harmony with his own purpose, which was “to re-establish the unity of the army, and to employ it in the preservation of order, the base and foundation of true liberty.” The capitulated forces were placed under the command of General Caballero de Rodas, and were detailed to occupy the garrisons in the provinces of Andalusia. The Liberal army then began its march to Madrid.

Telegraphic reports of the result of the battle of Alcolea were received in Madrid early in the morning

of September 29, both by the Government and by the revolutionary committees. The Marquis of Havana, who saw clearly that the cause of the Queen was lost, called a council of all the generals in command at Madrid, explained the situation, and asked their opinion as to the possibility of further defence. None could offer any hope or suggestion which looked toward a successful continuation of the struggle, and all thought it necessary to arrive at some understanding with the leaders of the Revolution to the end that order might be maintained. The government of the city was then transferred to Pascual Madoz, president of the revolutionary junta. The triumph of the Revolution was thus peacefully effected in the capital. The junta at once issued the following proclamations:—

“To the revolutionary juntas of the provinces: The people of Madrid have just uttered the sacred cry of ‘Liberty, and down with the Bourbons,’ and the army without excepting a single man is fraternising with the people. There is universal joy and confidence. A provisional junta, sprung from the bosom of the Revolution, has just determined upon the arming of the national militia and the election by universal suffrage of a permanent junta, which will be constituted to-morrow.

“Spaniards, join in the cry of the city which was the court of the Bourbons, and which, from this day forward, will be the sanctuary of liberty.”

“To the people of Madrid: The provisional committee adheres unanimously to the cry of the nation, which has proclaimed the national sovereignty, the expulsion of Isabella of Bourbon, and the future in-

capacity of all Bourbons to sit upon the throne of Spain.”

Since the departure of General Concha on the 19th, the Queen and court had remained in the greatest anxiety at San Sebastian, and in a state of vacillation as to the advisability of returning to Madrid. In accordance with a telegram from the Marquis of Havana, the departure of the Queen and court was arranged for the 20th, but without her favourite, the unpopular Intendant of the Palace, Carlos Marfori, against whom public opinion was excited. The journey was postponed until the 21st, and again until the 22nd, when all the preparations were made to leave San Sebastian. The royal family, at about midnight, had entered the train, which was only waiting the signal to leave the station, when a telegram was received to the effect that the railway communication with Madrid was interrupted and that the journey must be deferred. The Queen, on receiving this news, descended from the railway carriage and exclaimed with emotion to the Marquis of Roncali: “If I were a man, I would go to my capital.” She then returned to her palace to await in suspense the result of the battle between the Marquis of Novaliches and the insurgent forces.

On the morning of the 29th, the Marquis of Roncali communicated to the Queen the fatal result of the battle of Alcolea. At first no decision was made as to her future movements; but the anxiety of her household increased on learning the pacific and enthusiastic adhesion of the capital to the Revolution. Brigadier-General Acevedo, in command at San Sebastian, and himself implicated in the movement,

gave notice of the threatening attitude of the Liberal party in the province. He reported that the emigrants at Bayonne and other points along the frontier were preparing to join the Revolution, and that he was not certain that his troops could be relied upon to repress disorder. The Queen then decided to leave for France on the following day.

At ten o'clock on the morning of September 30 the royal family, amid the silence of the assembled crowd, took leave of San Sebastian, the first city which, on the death of Ferdinand VII., had proclaimed his daughter the lawful queen. At the station in Biarritz they were received by the Emperor and Empress of the French and the Prince Imperial. Isabella in tears threw herself into the arms of Eugenia de Montijo, with whom she could at least speak Spanish. The French imperial family little thought that this unexpected visit was the beginning of a chain of events destined soon to lead to the defeat of France and the fall of their own dynasty. The Emperor placed the palace at Pau at the disposal of the exiled Queen. At Bayonne she spent an hour in conference with several members of her last Ministry, when it was decided to publish a protest in which the Queen should explain the causes which led her to leave Spain, and should maintain her rights to the Spanish throne.

The journey was then continued to Pau, where the castle of Henry IV. was prepared for the Queen's reception. Thus, on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the beginning of her reign, the last ruler of the historic family whose branches had furnished so many crowned heads to Southern Europe, entered as a

forsaken exile the halls which had been the birthplace of the great founder of her dynasty.

On the same day the Queen issued the following laboured protest. The general opinion of the effect of its ill-timed and ill-advised allusions to the divine right of royalty can be best inferred from the significant fact that the document was published by the revolutionary junta in the *Official Gazette* at Madrid.

“To the Spaniards: A conspiracy almost without example in the history of any nation of Europe, has thrown Spain into the horrors of anarchy. Forces by land and sea, generously supported by the nation, whose services it has always given me pleasure to recompense, have forgotten glorious traditions and broken sacred oaths in order to turn against their country and inflict upon it days of mourning and desolation. The cry of the rebels begun in the Bay of Cadiz and repeated by a portion of the army, resounds in the hearts of the majority of Spaniards like the portentous roar of a whirlwind, in which the interests of religion, the prerogatives of legitimacy and of right, the independence and the honour of Spain are all equally imperilled. The sad series of defections, the acts of incredible disloyalty committed in a brief space of time, hurt my pride as a Spaniard more than they offend my dignity as Queen. Even the madness of the greatest enemies of authority does not imagine that the power of the State, which has so lofty an origin, can be transferred, modified, or suppressed by the aid of material force or by the blind influence of seduced battalions. If the population of the cities and country have yielded to violence, and have submitted for the moment to the

yoke of the insurgents, in a short time outraged public sentiment will make itself felt and — Heaven be praised! — will reveal to the world that in Spain the eclipses of reason and honour are but fleeting. Until that moment arrives, it has seemed to me, as legitimate Queen of Spain, advisable, after careful examination and mature reflection, to seek in the dominions of my illustrious ally the security necessary in such difficult circumstances for acting as is befitting my royal character and the duty of transmitting intact to my son my rights prescribed by law, ratified and sworn to by the nation, and sustained by thirty-five years of sacrifices, vicissitudes, and affection. On setting my foot upon foreign soil, with my eyes and heart turned toward the country which is mine and my children's, I hasten to formulate before God and man an explicit and solemn protest that the force to which I yield in abandoning my kingdom may not in any respect prejudice or weaken or endanger my rights. These cannot be diminished by the acts of the Revolutionary Government, and still less by the resolutions of its assembly, which will be necessarily organised under the impulse of demagogic passion and with manifest pressure upon the consciences and convictions of the people. Our ancestors sustained a long and successful contest for the religious faith and independence of Spain. The present generation has laboured without intermission to unite the great and generous achievements of past ages with the good and fruitful aspirations of modern times. The Revolution, mortal enemy of traditions and legitimate progress, combats all those principles which constitute the living forces, the vigour of the

Spanish nation. When liberty in its development and its manifestations attacks the Catholic unity, the monarchy, the legal exercise of the power of the State, it disturbs the family, destroys the sanctity of the domestic hearth, and kills virtue and patriotism. If you believe that the Spanish crown, worn by a Queen who has the good fortune to unite her name to the social and political regeneration of the State, is the symbol of its safeguarding principles, remain faithful, as I hope, to your oaths and your beliefs. Let the revolutionary whirlwind in which to-day are rampant hypocrisy, ingratitude, and ambition, pass away like a calamity. Live in the assurance that even in misfortune I shall know how to keep this symbol safe and sound, without which there are for Spain no beneficent memories, no consoling hope. The insensate pride of a few excites and disturbs for a moment the entire nation, producing confusion and anarchy in society. Not even against these do I nourish any hatred in my heart. Contact with so petty a sentiment might diminish the intensity of the affection by which I am inspired for the loyal subjects who have risked their lives and shed their blood in defence of the throne and public order, as well as for those Spaniards who have beheld with grief and horror the spectacle of an insurrection, a painful episode in the course of the civilisation of our days.

“In this noble land whence I address you, and everywhere, I shall support without despair the misfortune of Spain, which is my own misfortune. If among other illustrious examples I did not receive strength from the example of the most revered and high-minded sovereign in the midst of bitterness and

tribulation, I should take courage from the confidence which I feel in the loyalty of my subjects, in the justice of my cause, and of Him in whose hands rests the fate of empires. The monarchy of fifteen centuries of combat, victories, patriotism, and grandeur cannot be destroyed in fifteen days of perjury, corruption, and treachery. Let us have faith in the future. The glory of the Spanish people has always been the glory of its kings; the misfortunes of its kings have always been reflected in the people. In the just and patriotic aspiration to sustain right, legitimacy, and honour, your spirits and your efforts may always count upon the energetic decision and maternal love of your Queen

“ISABELLA.

“CASTLE OF PAU, September 30, 1868.”

CHAPTER II

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE CONSTITUENT CORTES

(October 3, 1868 — June 6, 1869.)

GENERAL SERRANO made his entry into Madrid on October 3, amid the acclamations of the people. He began at once to take measures for the formation of a government; but the attitude of prominent members of the Progressist party impressed him with the advisability of awaiting the arrival of Prim, whose entrance on the 7th of the same month was the occasion of an ovation even more enthusiastic than the reception of the conqueror of Alcolea. The Provisional Government was immediately formed, with Serrano as President of the Council of Ministers, and Prim in the War Department. The Navy portfolio was given to Topete, the author of the Cadiz pronunciamiento; the portfolio of State to Juan Lorenzana, the most distinguished Spanish journalist of his time; that of the Interior to Praxedes Mateo Sagasta, the present chief of the Liberal party, whose life had been devoted to the propaganda of the Revolution, and who had been condemned to death for the part taken by him in the unsuccessful rising of 1866; the portfolio of Justice to Antonio Romero Ortiz, who had already been Under-Secretary in the same department; and that of Public Works and Education to Manuel Ruiz Zorilla, distinguished for his antipathy to Ultramontanism, and leader of the advanced wing of the

Progressist party. Adelardo Lopez de Ayala, who had fitted out the Buenaventura to bring Serrano and the other exiled generals from the Canary Islands, was rewarded with the Colonial office in a country where poetry is often a stepping-stone to politics. Whatever apparent advantage might be with the Unionist party, which held not only the Presidency of the Council, but the Departments of State, Justice, Navy, and the Colonies, was more than counterbalanced by the Progressist portfolios of Finance, Interior, and Public Works, and especially by the presence of Prim in the War Department. The Revolution of 1854 had shown that the Minister of War was a more powerful personage than the head of the Cabinet. The Democrats were not represented in the Ministry, but their leader, Nicolas Maria Rivero, was appointed to the important post of Governor of Madrid. The Republicans were completely excluded from office.

The first act of the Provisional Government was to dissolve the revolutionary juntas. The Minister of State, on October 19, addressed a circular to the foreign powers, explaining the causes of the Revolution. In this circular the disorganisation and corruption of the last reign were graphically described. "The Spanish people, taught by bitter experience, and fully convinced that it is impossible to erect the edifice of the nation's prosperity and liberty upon forced repentance and pretended amendment, has made a supreme effort to rid itself of the disturbing element which it carried in its bosom; and, as Europe has seen, success has corresponded to the nobility of the enterprise and of the methods employed."

A few days after the issue of this circular, the Government addressed an important manifesto to the nation, embodying its programme. After extending "the commiseration of silence to the dethroned dynasty, which had been in opposition to the spirit of the age and a barrier to all progress," the manifesto proceeded to deal with the aims of the Revolution. "The first and most important of all reforms on account of the essential alteration which it introduces into the secular organisation of Spain, is the introduction of religious liberty. . . . Our faith, deeply rooted as it is, will not be invaded because we authorise the free and tranquil exercise of other creeds in the presence of Catholicism. Rather will it be fortified in the combat and be stimulated to defending itself against the persistent invasion of that religious indifference which so prostrates and weakens moral sentiment." The next reform demanded was free schools, — a demand "which the Provisional Government has hastened to satisfy. . . . Then, as a natural result of religious liberty and free schools, the Revolution has likewise proclaimed the liberty of the press, without which the other reforms would be but vain and illusory formulas. . . . The liberty of reunion and of peaceful association, eternal fountains of activity and progress, which have contributed so materially to the political and economical aggrandisement of other nations, have been recognised as fundamental principles by the Spanish Revolution." Sweeping financial reforms were promised, and the assurance given that the benefits of the Revolution would be extended to the colonies.

At the close of this manifesto the Provisional

Government made an explicit declaration of its belief in the monarchy as the system of government adapted to the necessities of the people and best fitted for giving form to the aspirations of the Revolution. "While the Provisional Government does not pretend," said the manifesto, "to prejudge so grave and intricate a question, it must take note of a fact of great significance which, in the midst of the enthusiastic agitation produced by the Revolution, demonstrates to a certain point the true tendency of the national will. All the juntas, genuine representatives of the movement, have proclaimed the cardinal principles of our new political organisation, but have kept silence regarding the monarchical institution, thus responding, without previous agreement but by their own inspiration, to a sentiment of patriotic prudence. Despite the ease with which it could have been done in the hour of passionate disturbance, they have not confounded persons with things nor the loss of prestige of a dynasty with the lofty magistracy of which it is a symbol. This extraordinary phenomenon has seriously attracted the attention of the Provisional Government, which brings it to the public notice, not as a favourable argument, but as a fact worthy to be considered in the solution of so important and difficult a problem.

"It is true that voices of great eloquence and authority have been raised in defence of the republican form of government, basing their arguments upon the difference in origin and characteristics of the Spanish nation, and, more than all, upon the marvellous example offered beyond the seas by a people born yesterday, and to-day the envy and admiration

of the world. However much importance may be conceded to these opinions, they are not so impressive as the general reserve regarding so thorny a question adopted by the juntas, who, until the formation of the Provisional Government, fully controlled the situation. It can be well understood how a young people, lost in the midst of virgin forests and bounded by vast unexplored solitudes and wandering tribes, can establish a government with entire independence, free from all internal engagements and from all international bonds. It is not probable that the same would occur with nations of long life and indestructible organic antecedents, who are members of a community of nations, and who cannot by a brusque and violent transition suddenly disturb the impulses which control them. The ill success resulting from experiments of this kind in other countries of Europe which have preceded us in revolution must deeply excite the attention of the public, before hastening into paths that are unknown and obscure."

This argumentative declaration was called forth by the importance of the Republican movement, which was daily gaining ground. It was not an illogical assumption in the minds of many that the Revolution of September, which professed to appeal to the sovereignty of the people, would lead to the Republic as the national outcome. The Republican agitation was begun in Catalonia by José Maria Orense, Marquis of Albaida. Orense in his youth had been exiled with his family to England, and became imbued with democratic principles at an early age. A representative of the province of Palencia in 1844, he had been the only Liberal member of the Cortes, and

with great courage and ability had fought single-handed against an overwhelming majority. He had earned the title of Patriarch of the Spanish Republicans, and he now declared that a democratic monarchy had been shown by the French experiment of 1830-1848 to be an impossibility, and that the Republic was the natural sequel of the Revolution. He was aided by the experience of Estanislao Figueras, who saw in the Republic the opportunity for bringing to a fitting close his long political career, by the cold but forcible reasoning of Pi y Margall, who regarded the Revolution as a field for experimenting with the theories of Proudhon, and by the eloquence of Emilio Castelar, who believed that the realisation of his ideals was now close at hand.

The Republican campaign was so successful in the provinces that the Government saw the necessity of making a counter-agitation. On November 15 a great mass meeting was called at Madrid by the leaders of the Unionists, Progressists, and Monarchical Democrats, who had assumed the name of the great Liberal party.¹ Addresses in favour of the establishment of a constitutional monarchy were made by Olozaga in behalf of the Progressists, by the

¹ During the Carlist War, 1833-1839, the supporters of Isabella II. divided into two parties, — the Moderates, or conservative, and the Progressists, or liberal party. The party called the Liberal Union was formed by General O'Donnell in 1854 from a union of the most liberal of the Moderates and the most conservative of the Progressists. The Democratic party came into existence during the later years of the reign of Isabella II., and was split into two sections, — those who, although opposed to the dynasty, were still in favor of the monarchical principle, and those who were eager for the establishment of a republic. The Revolution was effected by a combination of a great majority of the Liberal Union with the Progressists and Democrats.

Democratic leaders, Martos, Becerra, and Rivero, and by the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo for the Unionists. The latter made a speech of great force. The necessities of the situation welded the three parties into a barrier against the rushing tide of Republicanism.

That this harmony might be impressed upon the nation at large, a proclamation was published on November 12, a few days before this meeting, and signed by the leaders of the three parties, men of varied political antecedents. This document called attention to the necessity of political organisation. The capitals of the provinces should take the initiative in forming committees, the members of which were to constitute a proportionate representation of the three parties; the same scheme of organisation should be extended through the districts and provinces. The cry for the Republic was uttered by the supporters of reaction and deceived a few "noble and imprudent spirits who do not recognise that the supporters of reaction wish for the Republic only because they see in it the easiest and surest means — the only means — of destroying the results of our glorious Revolution, of ending our liberties, of creating in Europe the false impression that Spain is not worthy of leading the life of a free nation, and of hurling us again into the wretchedness of uncertainty and the horrors of despotism."

An enticing picture was drawn of the future monarchy. "It is not the monarchy which we have just overthrown, not the monarchy of divine right, not the monarchy which regards itself as superior to the nation and which made its sovereignty and liberty

impossible. That monarchy is forever dead in Spain. Our monarchy, on the contrary, — the monarchy which we shall establish by our votes, — is born of the right of the people, consolidated by universal suffrage, the symbol of the sovereignty of the nation, the consolidation of all public liberties; in short, the personification of the rights of the citizen superior to all institutions and to all powers. It is the monarchy which radically destroys the divine right and the supremacy of one family over the nation; the monarchy surrounded by democratic institutions, — the popular monarchy.”

In accordance with its assurances, the Government published a series of decrees of a radical character. Liberty of the press was declared, the right of public meetings for pacific purposes was sanctioned, as well as the privilege of forming societies and associations. The introduction of universal suffrage was announced, the elections fixed for the beginning of the new year, and the Constituent Cortes convoked for February 12, 1869.

In the meantime the Republicans had not been idle. Clubs were formed in all the principal cities. More than a thousand newspapers, not to mention pamphlets, sustained and defended their principles; nor did they hesitate on the day of the monarchical mass meeting in Madrid to make a counter-demonstration by summoning a meeting for the purpose of organising a Republican central committee at the capital. Before an assembly of upwards of ten thousand people, Castelar, in a speech of great eloquence, developed his theory of the Federal Republic, and in terms of bitter irony pointed out the absurdity of the

monarchy without a monarch. "I ask," said he, "whether in order to have a monarchy it is right to say we wish a monarchy. No, a monarch must be at hand. A monarchy is a personal government, and on that account requires a peculiar personality, a personality of extraordinary dignity; of a dignity capable of being handed down for a hundred generations. The monarchy without a monarch is a ridiculous device which would excite mockery if there were not danger of its leading to bloodshed." On November 22 the Republican central committee issued a proclamation in reply to the Monarchist manifesto of the 12th. "The Republic is the material form of the democracy, just as the human body is the material form of our life; just as human speech is the material form of thought. . . . The Republic is the State, reduced to its natural boundaries and its original powers; the society which substitutes for the arbitrary laws of the old governments the abolition of the death penalty, the reform of the penal law, re-establishment of the autonomy of our ancient colonies, so long oppressed and plundered; the reduction of the budget by more than half of the present scandalous amount; the suppression of indirect taxes, the honest payment of the national debt, the final abolition of the conscription for the army and navy, the complete accomplishment of the whole democratic programme."

This peaceable campaign of proclamations, pamphlets, and Utopian promises between the Monarchists and Republicans was rudely disturbed by conflicts which assumed a serious shape in some of the Southern provinces. The labourers of Puerto de

Santa Maria, near Cadiz, became disorderly in consequence of the reduction of their wages. The governor declined to accept the aid of the militia of Cadiz in repressing the disturbances, but summoned the regular troops. The Cadiz militia then made common cause with the people. A state of siege was proclaimed in Cadiz, and the militia ordered to lay down their arms. The result was a bloody contest in the streets of the city between the militia and the regular troops, which lasted through the night of December 5. On the 6th and 7th the city was shelled by the fleet; and it was not until the 8th that the efforts of the foreign consuls succeeded in effecting a suspension of hostilities. The intercession of Castelar and Figueras with the Madrid Government was fruitless, and the declaration of the state of siege in the province of Cadiz and the orders to the militia to lay down their arms were sustained. General Caballero de Rodas, who had taken command of the army of Andalusia after the battle of Alcolea, was ordered to suppress disorder with a stern hand. The people of Cadiz saw that further resistance was useless, and on December 13 the militia, in reply to the demands of the commander-in-chief, delivered up their arms. In the neighbouring province of Malaga, the events in Cadiz and the order to disarm issued to the volunteer militia of Malaga created great excitement. On hearing of the approach of Caballero de Rodas, the citizens of Malaga constructed barricades and prepared for a sturdy resistance. A committee of prominent citizens endeavoured to persuade the commander-in-chief to defer the unpopular disarmament, but his reply was a proclamation declaring a

state of siege, ordering a general disarmament within the space of twenty-four hours, and warning non-combatants to leave the city at once. The result was a street combat bloodier than that of Cadiz, ended only after three days of hard fighting, by the united efforts of the fleet and the army.

These events caused excitement and irritation among the Republicans, who openly charged the Government with a policy of intimidation in the Republican strongholds of the South for the purpose of assuring a monarchical majority in the Constituent Cortes. So strong was this feeling throughout the country that the Minister of the Interior felt impelled to issue a circular declaring that the Provisional Government had no intention of infringing upon the public liberties or of anticipating the decisions of the Cortes.

The course of events had developed a situation which had been unforeseen by the leaders of the Revolution of September, and which made the election for the Constituent Cortes a struggle for supremacy between the Republicans and the supporters of a constitutional monarchy. With the exception of certain Democrats, the three great parties of the Revolution were all monarchical, and their leaders had no conception of the popularity of Republican principles through the country at large. This popularity was enhanced by the assurances everywhere given in Republican addresses and manifestoes, that one of the first acts of the Republic would be the abolition of the conscription. In Spain, where relief from military service can be obtained by the payment of a fixed sum, this abolition would mean not only

exemption from military service, but also, with a large class of people, relief from a certain form of taxation. The Republicans argued that the great reforms effected by the Revolution, such as universal suffrage, freedom of the press, freedom of meetings and associations, were incompatible with a monarchy. The present Government, they argued, is really a republican government, because it derives its powers from the nation and is responsible to the nation for the exercise of those powers. All that is required for the establishment of the Republic is legalisation of the *status quo* by the Constitutional Convention. The Republican is therefore the true conservative party, and the establishment of a monarchy will be a danger to the order and tranquillity of the country.

The Provisional Government, on the other hand, having already embodied the promised reforms in decrees, had no further dazzling attractions to hold out to the people. But it delivered a serious blow to the prospects of Republican success at the election by retaining the age of majority at 25 instead of reducing it to 20, as urged by the Republicans, though it abolished all property qualifications. Down to 1865, this qualification had been the payment of 400 reals in direct taxes.¹ In 1865 this was reduced to 200 reals. But the retention of the age of majority at 25 excluded a large number of young men whose votes would have strengthened the Republicans. A decree of the Minister of the Colonies also excluded the colonies from the operation of the decree of universal suffrage, and fixed the large property qualification of 1000 reals.

¹ A real amounts to about five cents, United States money.

The order with which the election for the Constituent Cortes was effected in the beginning of January, 1869, was very creditable to the Spanish people in their first exercise of the right of universal suffrage. In Madrid, where the feeling ran high between the Monarchists and Republicans, complete tranquillity reigned. No so-called official candidates were presented by the Government, as is customary in Spanish elections; and it was claimed that for the first time in the history of the country entire liberty was given to the voters. The Government was, however, charged by the Republicans with the exercise of judicious pressure and with skilful manipulation of the soldier vote at certain points where overwhelming Republican victories threatened. In a country where the elections always result in a sweeping victory for the Government and in an unimportant minority for the opposition, the return of 70 Republicans was evidence of a distinct advance over the electoral methods hitherto applied. Even in Madrid, with its swarm of government employés, the Republicans secured a respectable minority, and in Catalonia and Andalusia presented an almost unbroken front. The advantage in the contests rested with the Progressists, who returned about 140 candidates. The Unionists returned between 60 and 70, and the Monarchist wing of the Democratic party not more than 30. Of the three parties of the Revolution, the Progressists had a larger representation than the other two combined. A few ancient Unionists who had separated from their party at the time of the Revolution and supported the fallen dynasty under the lead of Canovas del Castillo, and the same

number of Carlists, completed the composition of the House. The Republicans, of course, constituted the real opposition. ✕

An event occurred at this time which showed that if the disturbances in the provinces of Cadiz and Malaga originated in a desire for too much liberty, the sentiments which prevailed elsewhere could be seen in the fanaticism of the North. The Minister of Public Works, Ruiz Zorilla, issued a decree declaring all the archives, libraries, and other scientific, artistic, and literary collections of the cathedrals, chapters, cloisters, and military orders to be national property. These were to be kept for public use in the national libraries, depositories, and museums, and the libraries of the seminaries were to be left to the clergy. In the preamble of the decree a number of cases were mentioned in which valuable treasures, documents, and antiquities had been ruined or had disappeared through the ignorance or avarice of the clergy, by exposure to the weather or from other causes.

On January 25, the day appointed for the execution of the decree, each governor was to examine and prepare an inventory of all the treasures kept in the churches within his province. The Governor of Burgos, Gutierrez de Castro, while proceeding to carry out the order in the beautiful cathedral of that city, was, it is alleged, at the instigation of the Carlist clergy, brutally assassinated by a mob, his body stripped and mutilated. This murder caused great excitement throughout the country, and drew forth a proclamation from the Provisional Government, calling attention to the development of a for-

midable conspiracy, the purpose of which was to kindle again the fires of religious fanaticism. The Liberal papers called upon the Government to suppress the salary of 11,000 dollars paid out of the treasury to the Papal Nuncio; and on the night of December 27 a mob collected in the streets of Madrid, and with shouts for religious freedom proceeded to tear down the Papal arms from the Nuncio's palace.

The Constituent Cortes met on February 11. In looking over the lists of the members, one finds many distinguished names. There were many, like Olozaga, Rios Rosas, Rivero, Serrano, and Prim, who had long played an important part in the history of the country and who have since passed from the scene. There were others, like Canovas,¹ Sagasta,² Moret,³ who have since held the highest offices in the State, and who are to-day the leading figures of Spanish contemporary history. In the Republican opposition, there were a number of men of first-rate ability, — men like Orense and Figueras, with a long public life behind them, — and others like Castelar, Pi y Margall, and Garcia Ruiz, younger or of less experience, but ready to defend with brilliant enthusiasm and often with fascinating eloquence their cherished ideals.

The President of the Provisional Government opened the session with a speech of marked moderation. He referred shortly to the causes of the Revo-

¹ Prime Minister in the last Conservative Cabinet, and assassinated by an Italian anarchist in August, 1897.

² Prime Minister in the present Liberal Cabinet, June, 1898.

³ Minister of the Colonies in the Liberal Cabinet which resigned in May, 1898.

lution, the result of which had placed Spain abreast of modern civilisation. The Provisional Government was established only to level the ground and to trace roughly the outlines of what it was the duty of the Constituent Cortes to construct. He referred to the disturbances of public order, alleging that if at any time the Government had acted in apparent contradiction to the liberties proclaimed, it was because the very salvation of the results of the Revolution required such action. Allusion was made to the assassination of the Governor of Burgos as an example of Carlist fanaticism. The President then explained, at some length, the serious financial condition of the country, and the need of immediate and radical economies. The civil war in Cuba, inherited from the previous *régime*, would soon be repressed. Foreign governments, even those which had waited many years before recognising the government of Isabella II., had promptly admitted the entire legality of the sudden change effected by the Revolution. "All these circumstances," he said, "and many others which I omit, to avoid abusing the attention which you have been good enough to accord me, prove that Providence has blessed the sacred work of the Revolution, and that it is your duty to bring it to a happy conclusion. All these circumstances will make the rivals of our glory and prosperity feel that the nation is sufficiently prepared to decide upon its lot, and to settle its own sovereign destinies. And now permit us in conclusion to say that we, members of the Government, do not make any display of merits which do not exist, or of services which are scarce worthy of mention; but that we do congratulate

ourselves that by a capricious stroke of fortune our humble names are united with the beginning of a new era which is to be an era of regeneration and prosperity for this noble people."

The speech of the President, which skilfully avoided the burning question of the form of government, made a favourable impression. The Constituent Cortes of 1869 in the name of the nation was declared legally opened, and proceeded to its organisation. Rivero was elected President by 168 votes against 50 for Orense, with four Vice-Presidents and the same number of Secretaries. Among the Vice-Presidents there was no Republican, and only one among the Secretaries. The Cortes was finally organised on February 22, and the Republican leader, Figueras, called the attention of the House to the auspicious circumstance of its being the birthday of Washington. A communication was read from the President of the Provisional Government, resigning, in his own name and in that of his colleagues, the powers which they had exercised since October 8, 1868. In a speech Serrano also urged the House to use every effort to end the present crisis by enacting a constitution and establishing a permanent government. Speeches were made by Admiral Topete and General Prim, the two other leaders of the Revolution who were members of the Government, the former explaining his reasons for having initiated the movement in Cadiz, and the latter denouncing as a calumny the rumours which charged him with intending to bring about a restoration of the Bourbons. Amid the applause of the Deputies, he prophesied that the dynasty of the

Bourbons would “never — never — never¹ — return to Spain.”

The majority then brought forward a resolution to thank the members of the Provisional Government, and at the same time to entrust General Serrano with the formation of a new ministry to exercise the functions of an executive. To this the Republican minority responded by a counter-resolution, providing that the Cortes, being the genuine representative of the sovereignty of the nation, containing and preserving in itself all the powers of the State, should discharge the duties of an executive by means of a committee of its members.

This proposition and counter-proposition gave to the majority and minority the first occasion for measuring their forces in a parliamentary contest. Remarkable speeches on the Republican side were made by Figueras and Castelar, who charged the Provisional Government with being dictatorial in character, illegal in origin, and inconsistent in policy. “While the Minister of Public Works,” said Castelar, “gives us free education, — freer perhaps than exists even in the United States, — the Minister of Justice is engaged in friendly intercourse with the Papal Nuncio. By the decree of the Minister of Public Works, we can explain even Positivist philosophy in the universities, and say that the heavens recount not the glory of God, but the glory of Newton and Laplace; on the other hand, the Minister of Justice publishes indulgences. While the one grants to our consciences all the heaven of the intellect, the other scarcely permits us to eat meat on Friday.” General

¹ “Jamás! Jamás! Jamás!”

Serrano, according to the same orator, owed the Presidency solely to his influence with the army. Politically he was but the chief of a fraction of the Chamber, the leader of the seventy Deputies of the Liberal Union. His elevation proved that the Revolution of September was nothing more than an ordinary pronunciamiento so common in Spanish history. "None, absolutely none, of the nations of Europe does what we do. The Moderate party is Narvaez, the Progressist is Espartero or Prim, the Liberal Union is O'Donnell or Serrano. Unless they command, we are so feeble that we cannot live. We resemble those ancient Vandals who fixed a sword in the ground and then worshipped it."

Pi y Margall attacked the economic policy of the Government, — an easy task where years of deficits had brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy. During his long exile he had become saturated with the theories of Proudhon, and now seized on the occasion to develop his views in favour of the general intervention of the State in all walks of life so long as the ideas of great thinkers had not penetrated the lowest classes of society. He demanded the suppression of the standing army, the abolition of the salt and tobacco monopoly, and the collection of almost all the revenue of the State from protective duties.

The majority put forward two of their most distinguished speakers, Martos and Moret, to answer these attacks of the Republicans. The former, being the leader of the Democrats, stood nearer among the Monarchists to the Republicans themselves. He argued that a democratic monarchy was the best form of government for the Spanish people, and in

reply to the charge that the Provisional Government was a soldier government, he reminded Castelar that the United States had also conferred the highest honours of the State upon Washington and Grant, soldiers who had been successful leaders at critical periods in their country's history. Moret dissected with great force and ability the socialistic themes of Pi y Margall. He demanded whether the other Republicans were as extreme in their views, and whether there was not a profound and radical contradiction between the Republican ideals of Pi y Margall, of Orense, and of Castelar.

Figuerola defended the financial policy of the Government; and the Minister of Justice, Romero Ortiz, who was charged by the Republicans with Ultramontanism and by the Ultramontanes with Radicalism, defended himself with success. It was impossible for him to suppress at a stroke the appropriations for the clergy, and reduce at once 16,000 priests to poverty. This would create an anti-revolutionary army perfectly organised and perfectly disciplined, an army extending like a net from one end of the Peninsula to the other. "The suppression of the Church in the State," he said, "is a complex problem of the greatest gravity; a political, economic, and social problem difficult of solution." As already stated by Moret in his speech, the separation of Church and State would necessitate an indemnification to the clergy for the disamortised church property, so that the separation would really place the Church in a position of dangerous independence and influence. On the other hand, there was no inconsistency in suppressing the colleges of the Company

of Jesus, many of which had already been suppressed by the revolutionary juntas, and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, a dangerous organisation obeying some mysterious and unknown power residing in Paris, several of the members of which had plotted and perpetrated the murder of the Governor of Burgos. Contrary to the provisions of the Concordat, the number of nunneries had grown to such an extent that they cost half as much as the whole department of Justice and the courts of the country. He had therefore, by a decree of October 18, abolished all convents and monasteries established since July, 1837. As to the publication of the indulgences, he did not compel any one to purchase them, and he saw no reason why the Treasury should be deprived of the 16,000,000 reals produced by their sale.

The Minister of Public Works, in a passionate speech, referred in bitter terms to the assassination of the Governor of Burgos, and, by citing several cases, showed the necessity for the issue of the order which caused the death of that official, — the order to rescue artistic and literary treasures of the Church from the ruin into which they were falling through the ignorance and carelessness of their clerical guardians.

The Minister of the Interior, Sagasta, defended the measures of the Government in consequence of the disturbances at Cadiz and Malaga.

After a debate extending over the greater portion of three sittings, in which the advantage seemed rather to be with the majority, the proposition of the latter was carried by a vote of 180 to 62.

General Serrano, in a graceful address, thanked

the Chamber for its continued confidence, and assured it that the Government would have no other policy than the will of the Assembly. He hoped that the Republican minority would be conquered not by force but by reason and argument. The Government would present a series of economic reforms, but it should be understood that great sacrifices must be made by the country, and that "glory, honour, and liberty were never conquered without sacrifices."

The President of the Executive Power, as he was now called, made no changes in his Cabinet. A committee of fifteen members of the Cortes was elected to prepare the draft of the Constitution, with Ologaza as President, and Moret and Romero Giron¹ as Secretaries. No representation was given to the Republicans in this committee, which was composed of representatives of the three parties, Progressist, Unionist, and Democratic. Without waiting for the report of the committee on the proposed Constitution, the Republicans, with the enthusiasm of youth, kept bringing forward almost daily special laws for executing the promises of the Revolution. Bills were prepared by them establishing civil marriage, suppressing the octroi duty, the tobacco and salt monopolies, and abolishing the conscription.

In order to prevent this continued introduction and discussion of bills by the Republicans, Gabriel Rodriguez of the majority, on March 12, brought forward a proposition for the establishment of four permanent committees of nine members each, who were to be appointed directly from the Cortes.

¹ Minister of Public Instruction in the present Liberal Cabinet, June, 1898.

These committees were to have charge, respectively, of all bills and propositions relating to municipal and provincial organisation, elections, general legislation, and public order. This, with the committee on the Constitution, would make five standing committees, and was a marked deviation from the regular procedure in the Spanish Cortes. At the beginning of each session the two Houses which compose that body, the Lower House, or Congress, and the Upper House, or Senate, are divided by lot into seven sections, each of which elects a president, vice-president, and secretaries. Every month or two these sections are recast by a new allotment. The Houses adjourn and go into sections for the purpose of electing committees. The only permanent committee of the regular Cortes is the budget committee, composed in the Lower House, or Congress, of five members elected from each section, or thirty-five in all, and in the Senate of three members from each section, or twenty-one in all. An ordinary or temporary committee for the consideration of any ordinary bill which may be introduced consists of seven members, one elected from each section. Every new allotment of the sections produces a corresponding change in the committees; and since the composition of the sections depends on chance, there is no possibility of an exclusion of the minority from the committees by the majority. The proposition of Rodriguez to throw the charge of current business into the hands of four permanent committees, elected by the whole House, instead of entrusting each separate bill when introduced to a temporary and special committee, elected by the sections for the purpose of considering and

reporting upon it, was intended to do away with the element of chance, and to place the handling of bills entirely under the control of the majority. Rodriguez argued that the procedure of the Constituent Cortes could not be and ought not to be the same as the procedure of the ordinary Cortes, and that, its work being to organise the country and introduce reforms, some sacrifice ought to be made to secure more method in the transaction of business.

This proposition caused great excitement on the Republican side, where it was regarded as an attack on the rights of the minority. Figueras at once moved that it should not be taken into consideration. He argued that it robbed the individual Deputies of their right of initiation and discussion, because every bill could be effectually buried by the committees. His motion was rejected by only 101 to 91 votes, and the debate proceeded on the original proposition. The Republican leaders, encouraged by the smallness of the majority against them on the vote on the motion of Figueras, strained every nerve to procure the rejection of the proposition. Orense informed the majority that they were virtually expelling the minority from the Constituent Cortes, and that the consequences would be fatal not only to the country but to the Revolution. Castelar charged the Government with attempting a *coup d'état*, a charge rejected both by the Minister of War and the President of the Executive. The Republican hopes were not realised, the proposition being adopted by an increased majority, — 145 to 63.

Of all the reforms promised by the Revolution, the abolition of the conscription was the most popular

through the country, and the Republicans had turned that popularity to their own advantage by continually urging the reform. The Republicans Blanc and Joaquín Garrido had both introduced bills, — the former for the abolition, and the latter for the suspension of the conscription already ordered for the year. Garrido supported his bill with violence, and Castelar with pathos described the appearance of a country village on the day of the conscriptions. The Government, while expressing the hope that the reform might be introduced at some future time, denied the possibility of the suppression of the standing army in the present state of the country, with an insurrection in Cuba, the threats of a Carlist rising in the North, and the possibility of conflicts in the South as shown by the events at Malaga and Cadiz. The Republicans could not refrain from the temptation to make political capital by announcing this as the most conspicuous reform in their programme. They daily presented petitions which poured in from all parts of the country. On March 14 a meeting was held in Madrid to protest against the levy of conscripts, and addresses were made by the two Republican Deputies, Orense and General Pierrad. The violence of their language was made the subject of an interpellation, on the next day, by a member of the majority, and these speakers were charged by the Ministers of War and of the Interior with making attacks upon the sovereignty of the Constituent Cortes, and with uttering ideas which tended to lead to insurrection. Force was given to these charges by events which occurred at Jerez two days later, on March 17. The people of that city, on learning that

the usual annual levy of troops would be made, tore from the walls the notices posted by the city government, erected numerous barricades, and prepared to make armed resistance. The contest began on the evening of the 17th between the insurrectionists and the garrison of the town. The latter, in view of the size of the movement, after several hours of combat, decided to wait for reinforcements from Cadiz. On the next day the battle was renewed by the combined forces of the Government, and after a bloody conflict all the barricades, to the number of more than thirty, were captured and the insurrection suppressed before the close of the day. Several hundred were killed on both sides, the greater loss being on the side of the populace. Six hundred prisoners were taken.

In the sitting of the Cortes on the 18th, the Minister of the Interior read the telegrams from the Governor of Seville giving information of the outbreak at Jerez, and a resolution was at once brought forward declaring that the Constituent Cortes gave its entire support to the Executive to re-establish and maintain public order and to execute the resolutions voted by that body "in order to secure the liberties and rights proclaimed by the glorious Revolution of September."

Figueras, in behalf of the Republicans, expressed disapproval of an appeal to force, but the resolution was voted unanimously.

The events at Jerez and the threatened disturbances in other parts of Andalusia widened the breach between the majority and the minority, and also began to sow the seeds of dissension in the ranks of the latter, where a certain number, in opposition to

the views of the more moderate leaders, were in favour of forming a party of action. This feeling of uneasiness was not decreased either in the ranks of the Government or of the opposition, when, a few days later, on March 22, a demonstration was made by the Madrid populace in front of the House of Deputies itself while the debate was proceeding on the government bill for a levy of twenty-five thousand men. The women played an important part in the demonstration, and created such a disturbance as on several occasions to drown the voices of the orators in the Chamber. The Minister of War ordered the troops to their barracks, and the crowd dispersed only after great exertions had been made by Figueras, Castelar, Sorni, and other Republicans. It seemed possible at one time that the crowd would endeavour to break into the sacred precincts of the House. After the rejection of several Republican amendments, the bill for the levy of 25,000 men was approved on the following day by a vote of 124 to 47.

The Report of the committee and the draft of the Constitution were presented to the Cortes on April 8. According to the regulations, the debate was to be first on the whole Constitution and then separately on each section.

In the debate on the totality, the Republican orators, Castelar and Figueras, attacked the Constitution because it was too monarchical, and charged the Democratic members of the committee with having sacrificed their principles. Canovas del Castillo attacked it because it was not monarchical enough, and charged his former colleague, Rios Rosas, the Liberal Unionist member of the committee, with hav-

ing sacrificed his principles; while the Carlist orators, Vinader and Cruz Ochoa, became frenzied at the prospect of religious liberty. The two sections of the Constitution which caused the greatest amount of debate were Articles 20 and 21, on the relations between Church and State, and Article 33, on the form of government. The articles on Church and State had caused the greatest discussion in the committee; and both in the debates on the whole Constitution and on the separate sections were to be the subject of the most elaborate argument and of the greatest exhibition of oratory of all the long and eloquent debates of the Constituent Cortes.

Extreme views on this important question were held on the one hand by the Republicans, who were not only in favour of religious liberty, but also of the entire separation of Church and State, and on the other by the Ultramontanes, who opposed not only the separation of Church and State, but the free practice of any other than the established form of religious worship. The leading representatives of the latter were Canon Manterola, the Bishop of Jaen, Monescillo, and Cardinal Cuesta, Archbishop of Santiago. The divisions of opinion in the committee itself were admitted by its members. There were some, like Moret, the Secretary, who openly stated in the beginning of his speech in defence of the Constitution that he was a partisan of the complete separation of Church and State, and others, like the President, Olozaga, who took the Ultramontane view of the question. Articles 20 and 21 were therefore, as has been stated, the result of a compromise, and were as follows:—

“Article 20. The nation binds itself to maintain the worship and ministers of the Catholic religion.

“Article 21. The exercise in private or public of any other religion is guaranteed to all foreigners resident in Spain without any further limitations than the universal rules of law and morality.

“If any Spaniards profess any other religion than the Catholic, the provisions of the former paragraph are also applicable to them.”

The fiercest combat over these articles was waged between the orators of the two extremes, the Republicans and the Ultramontanes, the former led by Castelar and the latter by Manterola. It was in reply to Manterola that Castelar delivered his great speech on religious freedom, — one of the greatest efforts of a life full of oratorical triumphs.

The arguments of the Canon Manterola carried the Cortes back to the Middle Ages. The theme of his discourse was that the Constitution was not Catholic enough. The first line of Article 21 only stated that the State “binds itself,” not that the State was bound to support the Catholic religion. This did not declare that the Catholic religion was the religion of the State; the State had therefore no religion. Article 21 declared that “I, the State, officially have no religion. The State, therefore, does not believe in God.” Many passages, like the following, for example, were sufficient to make the House forget in what century its members were living: “Spain has been Catholic. Here in Spain no religion is publicly professed which is not the religion of the Catholic Church. But if this Constitution should become the definite constitution of Spain, this House,

this Government, comes before the Spanish people, saying: 'Spaniards, know this: until to-day we believed that the Catholic religion was the only true religion, and upon this belief we tried to base the moral and social order of Spain; but beginning with this day, departing from our individual beliefs, — departing from those beliefs which we may hold as individuals, — from this day forth we open the doors of Spain to all other forms of worship, to all other religions. All forms of worship, all religions, can enter here, and can enter with all their sacrifices, even though those sacrifices may be of human blood.' . . . Yes, indeed, gentlemen of this House, the Mohammedan can come here and take to himself many wives, and abandon his wife and children of a former marriage. Nor is this the only thing: A Spaniard abandons his wife — admitted up to that time to have been his wife by law — and marries another woman. An appeal must be made to the courts, you will say; but where are the courts if the votary of the new religion has broken the marriage tie in virtue of his new faith? . . . And if new temples are erected to false deities and new pagodas to the gods, by what law can you prevent such madness gaining a foothold in Spain? Have you not said that the sanctuary of the conscience is inviolable? . . . Ah, gentlemen, would that I might prove a lying prophet, but I cannot deceive you. I cannot deceive myself when I prophesy days of sorrow, days of gloom, days of death; when I prophesy a social cataclysm." The speaker went on to refer to the progress of Catholicism in the United States, and concluded with the following peroration: "I believe that if our

unhappy country suffers the immense misfortune of allowing herself to be dazzled by the glitter of temporal advantages which will never come, if she has the misfortune to throw herself into the fleshless arms of religious liberty, on that day the Spain of memories, the Spain of ancient glories, is dead. On that day its name will have disappeared from the map of civilised nations. On that day — may God forbid it! — this poor nation will become a charnel-house; the destroying angel will have collected its cold ashes, will have heaped them on the foul tomb of oblivion, and over the earth of that unknown sepulchre will write in letters of fire, ‘Here lies an apostate people who abjured its eternal welfare to obtain earthly benefits, and remained without the one after having lost the other.’”

All of this speech was received with coldness by the House, and parts of it with marks of disapprobation; and there was great expectation when Castelar rose to reply. He began by stating that if there had been any doubts as to the assertion which he had already made, that the Catholic Church, organised as a power of the State, with its ideal of authority, with its ideal of infallibility, with its ambition for the extension of its ideas over all nations, was a great and constant threat for human rights in the organisation of a free state — if any doubts of the truth of this assertion had been felt, these doubts must have been removed by the speech they had just heard. That speech, delivered by a dignitary of the Church, proved that even after so many religious wars, after so many concordats in which the Church had been forced to acknowledge the civil existence of other

religions, it still remembered, it still was unable to forsake, its ancient belief, — the belief of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., the belief that all civil powers are a usurpation of its sovereign power; for “what has Señor Manterola been claiming during the whole of this afternoon? What has he been demanding from the members of the committee during the whole of his long speech? He has been demanding, he has been claiming, that it is impossible to be a Spaniard, that it is impossible to have the title of Spaniard, that it is impossible to exercise civil rights, that it is impossible to aspire to the higher magistracies of the country, without wearing, printed by force upon the flesh, the stamp of a religion imposed by force, not of a religion accepted by the reason and by the conscience. . . . The dogma of the protection of the Church by the State has ended forever. The State has no religion, nor can it have one, nor ought it to have one. The State does not confess, the State does not commune, the State does not die.” The speaker then proceeded to show how Spain had suffered from religious intolerance, from the Inquisition, “the dagger of the Church;” how by the treatment of the Moriscos, by the banishment of the Jews, the country had been deprived of sources of wealth and elements of greatness. Spinoza, Disraeli, Manin, were all descendants of Spanish Jews; and in Leghorn he had met Jews who still spoke Spanish, who still had Spanish schools, and who after three centuries of injustice had never forgotten the land where rested the bones of their fathers. He closed with these impressive words: “Great is God on Sinai; the thunder heralds Him, the lightning accom-

panies Him, the earth trembles, the mountains are rent asunder. But there is a God still greater than He, not the majestic God of Sinai, but the humble God of Calvary, nailed to the Cross, wounded, crowned with thorns, with the gall upon his lips, saying, 'Father, pardon them — pardon my executioners, for they know not what they do.' Great is the religion of might, but greater the religion of love. Great is the religion of implacable justice, but greater the religion of merciful pardon; and I, in the name of this religion, in the name of the Gospel, come here to ask you to write upon the face of your fundamental code, religious liberty, which is liberty, fraternity, equality among all men." The speaker sat down amid prolonged applause, while members from all parts of the Chamber crowded around him.

Monescillo, Bishop of Jaen, followed on the same lines as his predecessor Manterola, arguing against the danger to education of the introduction of religious liberty. "Take, for example," said he, "a professor of botany. One might naturally think that the belief of a professor of botany would not be of any importance. But suppose that he examines a flower in the presence of his pupils, and explains to them that this flower is the product of its own exclusive force after a progressive series of spontaneous generations. This statement on the part of a professor of botany would mean that there is no creation, that there is no creator, and would be a denial of the existence of the Supreme Being."

Cardinal Cuesta, the Archbishop of Santiago, declared that there existed no such thing as freedom of thought, because no one could think that two and

two made five, or that the three angles of a triangle were not equal to two right angles. In the same way there was no liberty of thought which enabled any one to believe that any religion could be true except the Catholic. "Religious freedom means simply scepticism. The Spanish clergy have their hands full in the combat with rationalism: it is not necessary to fight against Protestantism because it is already dissolving like a worm-eaten corpse. The learned men of England, of Germany, of the United States, are either becoming converts to Catholicism or are swelling the ranks of rationalism. This is the phenomenon which is passing in the world."

Until this debate on religious liberty in the Constituent Cortes the Spanish clergy had had matters all their own way. Unlike their brethren of Germany and France, whom friction with Protestantism and revolution had aroused to intellectual effort, they seemed entirely without experience in controversy. In this way may be explained in some degree the use of arguments having the air of intellectual antiquities which could be so easily met by opponents like the Republicans Castelar, Benot, Garrido, Pi y Margall, the Democrat Echeagaray, and in behalf of the Government by the Minister of Justice, Romero Ortiz.

The speech of the debate which ranks in eloquence with that of Castelar, and in closeness of reasoning perhaps surpasses it, was delivered by the Democrat José Echeagaray, who to-day ranks as the first of Spanish dramatists. This was his first speech, — a speech which, in the words of Castelar, "places its author among the first orators of our country."

The following passage, which refers to an incident that had lately occurred in Madrid on the Quemadero de la Cruz, where the *auto de fe* of the Inquisition was formerly held, was more effective than any amount of argument, and made a great impression on the Chamber and on the country.

“Do you know,” said the Speaker, “what is the Quemadero de la Cruz? I will explain to you what it is, and I wish you to go and see it. I would that this debate might be held near that horrible monument, in order to see whether there would be any one who would dare to defend the unity of religion. The Quemadero de la Cruz is a bed of land; it is, we might say, a geological bed. Do you know what a geological bed of land is? Nature opens her great book, spreads her wide pages, and there we see in well-arranged layers, clay, slate, sand, and pebbles; they are the lines of the great book in which the geologist studies the formation of the planet on which we live. The Quemadero de la Cruz is likewise a great book, is likewise a great page, a gloomy page, wherein useful but pathetic teaching is inscribed. The Quemadero de la Cruz with its alternate layers is a bed of land, which might well be called not geological, but theological. In the alternate strata of the Quemadero de la Cruz you will see layers of coal impregnated with human fat, then remains of calcined bones, and then a layer of sand which has been thrown over it all, and then another layer of soil, and another of bones, and another of sand, and so continues this horrible mass. Not many days ago — and I am responsible for this statement — children at play, while thrusting with

a stick, turned up from these layers of ashes three objects, which of themselves are of great eloquence, — three grand discourses in defence of religious liberty. These children upturned a piece of rusted iron, a human rib almost entirely calcined, and a lock of human hair, burned at the end. These three arguments are all very eloquent. I should like the gentlemen who oppose religious liberty to subject them to a severe scrutiny; I should like them to ask of that lock of hair what was the cold sweat which its roots absorbed when the flame of the stake burst forth, and how it stood on end upon the head of the victim; I should like them to ask that calcined rib how the breast of the poor Jew palpitated against it. I should like them to ask that piece of iron, which was perchance a gag, how many woful groans, how many shrieks of anguish it stifled, and how it began to rust on receiving the ensanguined breath of the victim, for whom that hard iron had more compassion, had more pity, was more human and more merciful than the infamous executioners of that infamous theocracy.”

If the arguments of the clerical opponents of religious liberty had startled their hearers and weakened their cause, it must be admitted that the tactless behaviour of certain Republicans, notably of the Deputy Suñer y Capdevila in attacking Christianity in a particularly offensive manner, outraged opinion within and without the Chamber. This erratic Deputy devoted one speech to trying to prove that Christ had brothers, until he was stopped by the President. On another occasion he saw fit to deliver a lecture on the Immaculate Conception with com-

parisons drawn from Chinese cosmogony, until he brought the Minister of Marine to his feet to protest against his ridiculing the belief of the great majority of the Spanish people. A resolution of censure against the speaker, signed by Vinader and other Carlists, was proposed, but was not considered. Such speeches, however, not only injured the Republicans with the Liberals of the majority, but caused them to lose prestige through the country at large, where the clergy did not fail to take advantage of the occasion to represent the whole Republican party as the atheistical enemies of all religion.

The amendment of the Republicans to Article 20, to establish complete separation between Church and State, was rejected, and the article itself was passed by a vote of 176 to 76. The Republicans objected to the illiberal form of the second clause of Article 21, which granted freedom of worship to foreigners, and then went on to say that "if any Spaniards profess any other religion than the Catholic, the provisions of the above paragraph are also applicable to them." But as the provisions of the paragraph gave full religious liberty to Spaniards as well as to foreigners, it was decided not to vote against it, but instead, as a protest against the form of the article, not to vote at all. The second part of Article 21 was therefore passed by 163 votes against 40. Both Articles 20 and 21 were, therefore, approved in the same form as reported by the committee.

Article 21, even in its somewhat unsatisfactory shape, marked a great advance in Spanish liberalism. As Castelar said in his closing address, explaining the withdrawal of the Republicans from the vote

which was about to take place: "When the clock sounds the next hour, there will have disappeared forever the religious intolerance which for so many generations has been for us a blot and a dishonour. The Chamber can therefore understand with how much regret those men withdraw from this vote, who believe themselves to be the representatives of human rights in all their extension and of liberty in all its forms."

The debate on religious liberty in the Constituent Cortes in 1869 has deserved special notice, not only on account of the importance of the principle at stake, but as being an example in its highest form of a type of discussion not to be found to-day in the deliberative bodies of any other country. Although in a debate in the Spanish Cortes the number of speakers is limited, the time allowed to each is unlimited. In addition, each speaker has the right to "rectify," or to make explanatory speeches commenting upon the answers made to his own speech. Any member of the House, whether or not a speaker in the debate, has a right to speak, if he has been alluded to by any other member during the discussion. The result is wide latitude to the individual speaker and to the debate itself. In a country where eloquence is so well cultivated and so highly prized, and where every man, even the humblest, seems to be a born orator, the temptation to leave the subject in hand and to indulge in flights of oratory is often irresistible; a temptation heightened by the enthusiasm of the moment and the rapt attention of an audience more susceptible to such impressions than the colder races of the North. An admirable example

of these characteristics of Spanish oratory is afforded by this debate on religious liberty. There is too great a disposition to leave the question of religious liberty and the relations between Church and State for the enunciation of individual religious views; for history, poetry, and metaphysics in general. This tendency was well described by one of the speakers: "We have heard," said Señor Mata, "long and erudite dissertations on the existence of God, on the need of religion in society, on the dogmas of the Catholic religion, on the excellence of that religion, on its advantages in reference to other forms of worship, on the origin, development, increase, and influence on civilisation of Catholicism, — all points very important, but which, as has already been said, pertain to the sphere of councils, synods, or theological academies rather than to the Constituent Cortes, whose aim, exclusively political, is to give a constitution to the country." For displays of eloquence, the Spanish Cortes is to-day unequalled by any other deliberative assembly in the world; but in reading the report of a debate like the one just considered, one is impressed as by the view of some tropical landscape where the very luxuriance of the vegetation often oppresses the eye and enervates the senses.

The Cortes now voted to hold two sittings daily, in order to press forward with the Constitution. The other article which shared with the articles on religious liberty the honour of exciting to the utmost degree the feelings of the Chamber, was the article on the form of government. The articles on this subject proposed by the committee were as follows: —

Article 32. All powers emanate from the nation.

Article 33. The form of government is the monarchy.

Numerous amendments were brought forward by the Republicans, — amendments to the effect that the form of government should be decided by a plebiscite; that the form of government should be the Federal Republic; that it should be a directory of five. All of these amendments were defeated by a party vote, the 70 Republicans voting for the amendments against the rest of the Chamber. All the leaders of both sides engaged in the debate, which was even longer than the one on religious liberty. It was amid great excitement that the vote was finally reached on the night of May 20. Article 32 — that all powers come from the nation — was approved unanimously. Article 33 — that the form of government was the monarchy — by 214 against 71.

With the settlement of the two burning questions, — religious liberty and the form of government, — the interest in the discussion ceased, and the voting on the remaining articles of the Constitution advanced with rapidity. The opposition took no further active share in the proceedings. The patriarch of the Republicans, Orense, Marquis of Albaida, withdrew after the vote on the form of government, and appeared no more in the Constituent Cortes. While from April 8 to May 20 inclusive, only 33 articles had been passed, on May 21, the day following the vote for the monarchy, 37 articles were approved, among them the important provisions relative to the irresponsibility of the monarch, the veto, his right to declare war, the formation of the two Chambers, and the method of choosing the Senate. At this rate

a few days sufficed to end the discussion on the articles, and on June 1 a vote was taken on the whole Constitution, — 214 for and 55 against.

The new Constitution consisted of eleven titles, containing in all 112 articles. Universal suffrage, freedom of the press, and liberty of reunion were all therein embodied. Article 16 provided that no Spaniard in the full enjoyment of his civil rights could be deprived of his right to vote, of his right to publish his ideas and opinions orally or in writing, of peaceable meetings, of forming associations, of addressing petitions to the King, the Cortes, or the other authorities. Articles 20 and 21 made the Catholic religion the religion of the State, but allowed the practice in public or in private of any other religion to any foreigner residing in Spain, and to any Spaniard who might not be a Catholic. Article 32 declared that all powers came from the nation, while Articles 33 and 77 made the form of government an hereditary monarchy. The Cortes was to consist of two houses, — the Senate and the Congress. Senators were restricted to certain classes and were elected by the provinces, while Deputies to the Congress were to be elected directly by the people.

June 6 was the day appointed for the promulgation of the Constitution. At two o'clock on that day the President, followed by the Secretaries, occupied the tribunes which had been erected in front of the building. There were also present the Diplomatic Corps, the Council of State, the members of the Supreme Court, representations of military, literary, and scientific bodies, as well as committees and representatives from the municipalities of the whole

country. The Constitution was then read to the people by two Secretaries. After the reading, the President of the Cortes arose and said: "As President of the Constituent Cortes, I declare, in the name of that body, that the Democratic Constitution of 1869 has been solemnly promulgated." There were acclamations from the immense crowd; in the evening the public buildings, many private houses, the Prado, and the Retiro were illuminated; bands of music played in the open squares, and there appeared to be general rejoicing at the introduction of a new order of things.

CHAPTER III

THE SERRANO REGENCY AND THE SEARCH FOR A KING

(July 6, 1869 — December 27, 1870.)

THE new Constitution fixed the monarchy as the form of government, but there was no monarch, nor did there seem to be an early prospect of finding one. It was therefore expedient to give a solidity to the Provisional Government which would enable it to act as a bridge to the future monarchy. On the 6th of July Olozaga presented a resolution for the appointment of General Serrano as Regent with the title of Highness and with all the powers conferred on the Regent by the Constitution, except that of sanctioning laws and suspending or dissolving the Constituent Cortes. The Constituent Cortes, being the representative of the sovereignty of the people, could only be dissolved or suspended by its own act.

This proposition was combated not only by the Republicans but also by certain Liberal Unionists who were in favour of the Duke of Montpensier, a ready and willing candidate for the throne, whose prospects would be injured by delay. The Republicans presented a number of hopeless amendments, — that the government should be carried on by an executive council of five persons, responsible to and removable by the Chamber; that there should be a Regency of three appointed by the Chamber; that the Regent should be responsible to and removable by that body. All were summarily rejected. The

Liberal Unionist Navarro Rodrigo and the Progressist Cantero opposed the proposition on the ground that the election of a monarch should not be any further postponed. Cantero argued that if a vote was taken at once, although there might be no election on the first or second ballot, a decision would finally be reached, and there would be a king. The difficulty of the search for a king was plainly stated in the speech of the Minister of War, who admitted that when he and his friends were conspiring in exile the downfall of Isabella II., they had not considered what dynasty to substitute. With no less frankness he stated the difficulty of finding a suitable candidate for the throne. "In a country which is in this state of uncertainty, in a country which is in a period of reconstruction, in a country where there have occurred events such as we have ourselves seen, — yesterday a fight in Cadiz, the next day another in Malaga, then another in Jerez; in one town a governor murdered in a church, in another the town council attacked, — in a country where such things happen, which have little significance for us because we are accustomed to them and to worse, but which are exaggerated to an extraordinary degree as soon as they pass the frontier, is it strange that all the princes who may be candidates say, 'Who is going to establish himself in a country where such events occur?'"

The proposition for the Regency was carried on July 10 by 195 against 45 votes, and the 18th was fixed for the presentation of the Regent to the Cortes and the taking of the oath. The ceremony was attended with as much display as the promulgation of the Constitution. The public buildings were

decorated, the troops paraded. The Cortes met in extraordinary session. The President ordered the law establishing the Regency to be read by one of the secretaries. A committee of fifteen Deputies then left the Chamber to receive the Regent, who, standing at the right of the President, took the oath to the Constitution of 1869. The Regent then delivered a short address, in which he stated that the period of grave danger had passed; that the time had come for developing and consolidating the conquests realised by the Revolution, and that during the interregnum the Constitution must be loyally executed, and individual rights peaceably exercised, in order that the new monarch might begin a happy and prosperous reign. The President of the Chamber spoke to like effect. The Regent and President then embraced, and the latter withdrew amid cheers for the Regent, the Constitution of 1869, and the national sovereignty.

The Presidency of the new Cabinet naturally fell to Prim, who retained the War Department. While the honours reverted to Serrano, the real governing power remained with the Minister of War; and this gave rise to Castelar's famous saying that "General Serrano had been shut up in a golden cage." Each was fitted for his post; for Prim was the only man who could hold together the discordant elements of the majority, and Serrano's brilliant career and noble presence made even his enemies admit that there was no one so well suited as he for the duties of the high position which he was called upon to fill. The members of the Provisional Government, with two exceptions, remained in office under Prim. In the place

of the Unionists Romero Ortez and Lorenzana, Martin Herrera and Silvela of the same party assumed, respectively, the Departments of Justice and Foreign Affairs. The political complexion of the Ministry was therefore unchanged. The Progressist party held the same position as in the previous Government, except that its leader was now the head of the Cabinet. As before, there was no representation given to the Democrats, whose leaders made no attempt to conceal their dissatisfaction.

The programme of the Government which Prim presented to the House in a speech on June 19, was in the usual strain. The Constitution should be guarded, public order preserved, friendly relations with foreign nations, and especially with the Spanish-American Republics, should be fostered, and every attempt made to remedy the financial woes of the country. He especially recommended harmony to the three parties which formed the majority. The Republicans he advised to be patient, and not to go too fast; to be contented with the liberty they enjoyed. By a process of tranquil evolution they would in the end reach the realisation of their ideals. Let them learn a lesson from the speaker, of the advantage of taking things easily. In 1866, in his retreat from Villerejo to Portugal, he had crossed the Portuguese frontier without the loss of a single man, because he had, in a race which lasted twenty-two days, never once broken into a run for a single instant.

Circulars of the Ministers of the Interior and of Justice issued to the provincial governors and judges, during the month of June, were attacked by the Republicans, as an infringement of Article 1 of the

Constitution, and gave rise to an acrimonious debate. The object of these circulars was to suppress Republican demonstrations, or, as stated in the circular of Martin Herrera, "all demonstrations inconsistent with the solution which has been adopted in reference to the form of government, whether such demonstrations have a Republican, Absolutist, or falsely so-called Legitimist significance, are to be punished without weakness or hesitation, since there is no legality except that established by the sovereignty of the nation." The reactionary attitude of the Minister of Justice, Rios Rosas, who regarded himself as the vehicle for the policy of his party and its leader, also increased the dissatisfaction of the already dissatisfied Democrats. A decree of the same Minister on the organisation of the courts gave this fraction of the Chamber a pretext for appearing in open opposition. On July 7 a resolution was brought forward by the Democratic leaders requesting the Cortes to declare the decree null and void, "as attacking the prerogatives of the Constituent Cortes." In the debate on the resolution, the Republicans held aloof in an attitude of masterly inactivity, while the policy of the Minister of Justice was unsparingly attacked by the Democrats, whose leader, Martos, bade farewell to the Progressists with the words, "Good-bye, I am going," — words which drew a somewhat plaintive remonstrance from the President of the Council of Ministers. The Minister of Justice was sustained by 144 to 95 votes on the resolution, the Democrats voting with the regular opposition.

Prim was alarmed at the threatened union of the Democrats and the Republicans, and believed that

there was less danger from discontented Unionists than from dissatisfied Democrats. Only a week after the policy of Martin Herrera had been supported by a majority of the House, he modified the Cabinet in a Democratic sense. The Unionist, Martin Herrera, and the Progressist Minister of Finance, Figuerola, left the Cabinet. Ruiz Zorilla was transferred from Public Works to Justice, while Public Works and the Colonial Department, which had been previously administered by Topete in addition to the Navy Department, were entrusted respectively to the Democrats Echegaray and Becerra. This was the first Cabinet since the Revolution in which the Democratic wing of the majority was represented. In reply to an interpellation on the causes of the Ministerial crisis, Prim declared that the modification of the Ministry meant no change of policy, but was only the result of the long-felt necessity of giving a representation to that division of the majority which had been so long unrecognised.

On the question of a monarch as well as of policy, there were radical differences between the factions, which were sure to become active at the first opportunity. On July 15 — the day after the Ministerial change — the Cortes, after appointing a permanent committee to hold over the recess, adjourned until October 1.

In the meantime the National Republican party had not been idle. In the month of May, in order to secure a better organisation for the summer campaign, the Republican committees of the provinces lying within the limits of the ancient crown of Aragon met at Tortosa. The result of their pro-

ceedings was the agreement known as the Pact of Tortosa, to the effect that an alliance should be formed between the three ancient provinces of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, including the Balearic Islands, for the purpose of pursuing an identical policy on all questions affecting the Republican propaganda. Local committees should be established in every judicial district, a provincial committee in the chief city of each separate province, and a state committee in the cities of Barcelona, Valencia, and Tarragona, to represent, respectively, Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon. The fact that the Constituent Cortes had established the monarchy as the form of government, did not of itself warrant an appeal to arms, so long as the principles proclaimed by the Revolution were not openly violated. On June 10 an assembly of delegates from Andalusia, Estremadura, and Murcia met at Cordova to give their adherence to the Pact of Tortosa. The Castilians followed with the Pact of Valladolid, which included the provinces of Old and New Castile. The rest of the country was brought into the union by a meeting at Corunna, of the representatives of Galicia and Asturias. By this method of organisation the principle of the Federal Republic was extended throughout the nation.

In the beginning of July there appeared a manifesto of Don Carlos¹ in the shape of a letter, dated Paris, June 30, to his brother Don Alfonso de Bourbon, in which he attempted to enunciate his principles of government. The Catholic religion must at any price be kept as the religion of the

¹ Nephew of the first pretender of that name.

State; but as the Spanish people showed a fondness for decentralisation, he would try to leave each province in control of its internal administration. Home industries were to be protected, and only what was absolutely necessary should be imported from abroad. This proclamation, which was received with ridicule in the capital, was followed by risings of Carlist bands in Catalonia, Aragon, and especially in the province of Ciudad Real.

This disturbance and the fear of Republican agitation of a like character determined the Government to have recourse to the drastic law of April 17, 1821, in reference to procedure in cases of conspiracy and open attack upon the Constitution. The members of the Republican minority present in Madrid protested against the revival of this law on the ground that it was an amendment of Article 2 of the Constitution, which prohibited the establishment of extraordinary courts to investigate criminal charges, and an infringement of Article 3 because it was a virtual assumption by the Government of legislative powers. This protest was sent to the permanent committee of the Cortes, but produced no effect. A feeling of sullen dissatisfaction began to spread through the party. An event which occurred at Tarragona gave the Government opportunity for dealing more energetically with the Republicans. On September 20 General Pierrad, one of the leading Republican Deputies, was received at that city by a Republican procession with banners. The Secretary of the Government acting as provincial governor in the absence of his chief, appeared on the scene, ordered the banners to be removed, and pro-

hibited shouting in favour of the Republic. He was attacked by the crowd and beaten to death. The Government immediately ordered the two Deputies, Pierrad and Serraclara, to be arrested, and proceeded to disband the militia of Tarragona, because it had not prevented the assassination. A meeting of a number of commanders of volunteer battalions in Barcelona to protest against this act, was followed by the order from Madrid for the disarmament of the militia of that city. This was the signal for an outburst in Barcelona. Barricades were erected, and the volunteers occupied the public buildings. The fight began on September 26 at ten o'clock in the evening, but the insurrectionists were scattered before morning by the Government troops.

The Government, now having complete control of the important capital of Catalonia, lost no time in following up its advantage by suppressing the Republican clubs in the other towns of the same province. Scattered Republican risings which followed this measure were easily suppressed. By an organised and simultaneous insurrection through the provinces, the Republicans, who were very numerous, could have placed the Government in a critical position, but instead of acting in concert the insurgents had neither plan nor system. Saragossa rose after Barcelona, and Valencia after Saragossa, each independent of the other, so that the Government without difficulty quelled both insurrections with the same troops. With the capture of Valencia by the Government troops on October 16, after a bloody street fight, and with the extinction of more unimportant disturbances in Reus, Teruel, Corunna, and several points of

Andalusia, the Republican party lay completely prostrate. A number of their Deputies, among whom were Suñer y Capdevila, Paul y Angulo, Joarizti, Blanc, Castejon, Serraclara, were in prison or exile. Guillion, another Deputy, had been shot during the troubles. The prestige which the party had claimed as the party of order and peaceable propagandism was gone; discipline was shattered and distrust rife between the masses and the leaders, who were not men of activity nor fitted to carry their followers through that ordeal of fire which every Spanish political party had been compelled to pass. The feeling of disgust at the ill success of their experiments at insurrections was portrayed in a letter published by Suñer y Capdevila from Tours, where, according to his own account, he had arrived, "tired, dirty, poor, and sad." The somewhat naïve repentance depicted in the following extract shows the natural discomfort felt at the horrors of war by a scholarly politician whose experience had been limited to forensic combats. "Mad agitation," said the writer, "barricades, shouting, arson, and assassination will always benefit the Government more than us. With violence it will be impossible ever to gain the rich and conservative classes for the Federal Republic; but they will come to us on the day that we prove that the Republic is peace, justice, and order, and I know only one method to prove this: to plead our cause calmly in the press and the clubs, and above all to forsake bullets and arm ourselves with ballots. I do not know what the party has decided, but I know what I have decided. . . . The recent occurrences have proved to me that war is a wretched resource, and that some members

of my party have not yet laid aside the instincts of primitive man. Neither my physical strength, nor my intellectual tastes, nor my moral inclinations dispose me to destroy. I have had enough of war, and if I may advise, my advice is that the party has had enough also."

The reunion of the Cortes in October, 1870, found the Government relieved of its most dangerous opponents. In consequence of the disarmament and dispersion of the militia, no further armed resistance was to be feared, and the state of siege proclaimed in the insurgent provinces prohibited manifestations and manifestoes. The Republican opposition in the Cortes itself was sadly reduced. Not more than twenty deputies of the party appeared, and they represented its moderate section. Among these, however, were the leaders Figueras, Castelar, Pi y Margall, and Orense. The rest were too seriously compromised by the late events. In view of the disorganisation of the party through the country, these leaders, despite their ability and eloquence, could make nothing more than an academic opposition. The Government at once brought in a bill for the suspension of Constitutional guaranties and authorising the Government to proclaim a state of siege in any part of the country where it seemed to be advisable. In vain the leading Republican orators thundered against the suspension of the guaranties which the Minister of the Interior, Sagasta, admitted to have weighed upon him "like a mass of lead" during the late troubles. Castelar expressed the solemn determination of the minority to retire from the Legislature, — "a determination in obedience to

inevitable reasons of dignity which history will some day justify." This threat, which when the Republican party was in its full strength would have created alarm among the monarchists, as meaning a resort to the secret conspiracy or open insurrection which followed every *retraimiento*,¹ now excited no apprehension. The Republicans were no longer to be feared.

The first clause of the bill suspending the guaranties granted by the Constitution was passed with a vote of 154 to 14, and to the second clause, authorising the state of siege, there was practically no opposition. After the passage of the bill on October 6, the Republican minority withdrew in accordance with Castelar's assurance. Since the state of the party after its defeat in open warfare gave no hope of success in any further attempts at insurrection, the Republican minority soon saw the uselessness of remaining absent from the political stage, where they at least had the opportunity of keeping before the people and attracting attention by their oratorical achievements. They therefore, on November 24, issued a manifesto, which declared their intention to return and take part in the debates in order to secure the cessation of the state of siege and the dictatorship, and asserted that it "was suicide to set up the *retraimiento* as a law of conduct."

Three days after this proclamation the Republicans re-appeared in the Cortes with a resolution condemning the Government for its method of enforcing the law suspending guaranties; Pi y Margall, Castelar,

¹ An ominous word in Spanish politics, meaning the withdrawal of the representation of a party from the Cortes and the abstention of its voters from the polls. Such action almost invariably means conspiracy, followed by an appeal to arms.

and Figueras hurled an avalanche of eloquent sarcasm upon the Ministerial heads, but the Government and the majority knew that these speeches no longer echoed through the country; that they only made the debates more lively, and gave to the Assembly the air of being the genuine representation of the whole nation. It was not, therefore, through any fear of the Republicans, but because there seemed to be no further cause for anxiety, that on December 11 the state of siege was raised by a unanimous vote.

The demoralisation of the Republican party naturally gave the prospect of an early solution of the monarchical question, but this prospect was not realised. The three parties of the majority were all in alliance against the Republic, but there was no unanimity as to who the monarch should be. Dissatisfaction with the candidacy of the Duke of Genoa proposed by Prim produced a Ministerial crisis early in November, which resulted in the retirement from the Cabinet of the Unionists Silvela and Ardanaz, who supported the candidacy of the Duke of Montpensier, and in the refusal of members of the same party to become their substitutes. Topete also gave in his resignation, but fearing the loss of prestige consequent upon the retirement from the Government of one of the three chiefs of the Revolution, the Regent refused to accept it. Prim made every effort to retain him in the Cabinet, and even went so far in his speech of November 2, on the crisis, as to say that if Topete disappeared from the Ministry, the consequences might be fatal to the cause of liberty and to the consolidation of the conquests due to the

Revolution of September; and that if Topete persisted in his determination, he would place his own resignation in the hands of the Regent. Topete did persist in his determination, but General Prim concluded that he would not resign, after all. In a candid speech he asked the House whether it was the opinion of the members that he ought to resign because he had said he would. On receiving the answer "No! No!" from the Deputies of the majority, he stated that he was satisfied, and that he would still continue at his post, "to serve the Revolution and to serve Liberty." The Democratic leader, Martos, succeeded Silvela as Minister, Figuerola returned to the Treasury in the place of Ardanaz, and Prim took charge of the Navy Department himself. The Unionists were, therefore, entirely eliminated from the Government. In Spain, the President of the Council of Ministers usually takes no portfolio. Prim, in addition to the Presidency, now combined in himself the War and Navy Departments.

These events did not strengthen the prestige of the Cabinet, nor was that prestige heightened by the attitude of the Monarchists when Figuerola proposed the appointment of an investigating committee to inquire into the disappearance during the Bourbon *régime* of certain jewels belonging to the Crown, a proposition which provoked a long and animated debate, and was bitterly denounced by the Alfonsists Elduayen and Canovas del Castillo. The Unionists openly charged the President of the Council with intentionally prolonging the interregnum and obstructing a solution through motives of personal ambition. Prim now sought to calm this irritation

by an oscillation in the direction of the Unionists, while the official refusal of the Duke of Genoa to become a candidate for the throne brought on another Ministerial crisis in January, and caused the exit of Martos and Ruiz Zorilla, who had been distinguished supporters of that solution. Sagasta was shifted from the Interior to the State Department; Rivero, the President of the Chamber, took the Interior, and Topete was persuaded to return to the Navy. The Progressist, Montero Rios, was appointed to the Department of Justice. The disposition to a conciliatory policy toward the Unionists, which was marked by the re-entry of Topete into the Cabinet, was more clearly shown by Prim's speech against Castelar's bill, declaring all the members of the House of Bourbon, both of the elder and younger branch, "to be disqualified from exercising the lofty dignity conferred upon the chief of the State by the Constitution of 1869." The object of this proposed law was to attack the Duke of Montpensier, the Unionist candidate, and to sow dissension between the factions of the majority. Prim's speech was very conciliatory, and of a character to leave hopes in the breasts of the Unionists that the Duke of Montpensier might, after all, be a possible candidate. He explicitly declared that his celebrated exclamation of "Never! never! never!" and "Impossible! impossible! impossible!" was applied to the restoration of Isabella II. and Prince Alfonso, and went no further.

The remarkable position occupied by General Prim was largely due to his policy of giving to every one something to hope from him. Each party hoped to gain him for its candidate, for in politics, as was said

of him by an opponent, he was like a cipher, to be placed either at the right or the left of a figure. If, for example, a candidate in the political exchange were quoted at nine and General Prim were placed at his side, or, in other words, he were given the support of General Prim, the candidate rose to ninety; subject him to the opposition of the President of the Council, or, in other words, place General Prim on the other side of him and he dwindled to a decimal. It was by such a policy that Prim succeeded in maintaining a certain coherence in the discordant elements of the majority, and this success was possible only because he possessed a quality rare in this nation of talkers: he knew when to keep silent. The best picture of the wonderful influence wielded by the President of the Council is drawn by Castelar in his speech of March 12, 1870, on the foreign and home policy of the Government. "Observe," said he, "what passes in this Chamber — and what passes in this Chamber passes in Spain. In this Chamber no one speaks, no one wishes to speak, upon the policy of the Government. Suppose I should attempt to force the leaders of the different groups to speak: it would be foolish for me to undertake it, because no one will speak. I may say the most monstrous things about them, — they will continue to keep silent. I will attribute to them the most extravagant projects, the most absurd plans, — they will continue to keep silent. I will allude to them by name. I will say nothing to Señor Canovas; I do not need to do so, because he occupies a position somewhat apart, but I will allude by name to Señor Posada Herrera, who is his friend and his enemy, and who

is in a position that is indescribable and impossible. Señor Posada Herrera will not ask for the floor. He will wrap himself in a mysterious silence. I will then allude to the most impetuous of all the orators of this House; to him who delights to engage in combat because he knows that he will come forth the victor. Despite my littleness and his colossal stature, although I challenge him to come out of his tent to contend with me, his tent will remain closed. I cannot succeed in exciting into speech even that most eloquent orator, Rios Rosas." Then turning to the Progressists, "There are," continued the speaker, "in this majority, in the Progressist party, orators who are in a state of latent hostility to the Government. For example, Señor Mata leads a fraction which on several occasions has given anxiety to the President of the Council of Ministers. I will name him and he will not speak. I will give Señor Madoz an opportunity to shout 'Long live the Duke of Victoria!' and, like all the rest, Señor Madoz will keep silent; although his most distinctive characteristic is frankness, he will not take the floor." Then, addressing the Democrats: "I will now go to the benches where sit my former friends, and I will ask Señor Rodriguez, who is likewise of a warlike temperament, why he resigned the Vice-Presidency of the Chamber, why he has abandoned his friends. Although he can scarcely restrain himself, and the words 'I ask the floor' wander over his lips, he will not ask the floor. I will then address Señor Martos. He is my friend, but he does not honour me with his political confidences. I know and divine his ideas by his mysterious attitude. This assembly in reality appears an

assembly of shadows. Here no one speaks, and there are but two things that are frank and open, — my speech and Admiral Topete's face. Señor Martos is disgusted, profoundly disgusted, with this situation. He has said with perfect sincerity that the Government cannot escape from the great and extraordinary obstacles which encompass it, except by inclining to the Left. The Government determines to incline to the Right. Señor Martos sees this with pain and disgust. Why does he not speak? Why does he not display his banner? This leader will do the same as the other leaders; he will envelop himself in silence. His party will do the same as the other parties, envelop itself in mystery. Do you wish the key to this strange enigma? I will give it to you. All are silent because all hope something from General Prim for their respective solutions. And what occurs in this House occurs outside of the House. I know many supporters of the Bourbon restoration who say — without reason, I suppose, but justified by so much mystery — that General Prim is waiting for Prince Alfonso to grow up. I know many partisans of another candidate whom I will not name,¹ who believe that General Prim is waiting to overcome certain objections to this candidate in the Progressist party; that he would have overcome them before this if it had not been for the tenacity of Ruiz Zorilla. More than this, I know some Republicans who are capable of contending against me a thousand times — against me, who am so constant in my defence of the Republic — rather than against General Prim, who is so fierce in his attack upon it. Why?

¹ The Duke of Montpensier.

Because, as the Jews awaited their Messiah from the indifferent, implacable Jehovah, they hope to find in General Prim that Messiah of the Republic."

Prim's readiness to forsake when necessary his policy of conciliation of the different factions was discovered by the Unionists in an over-confident attempt to throw down the gauntlet to the Government. The Minister of Finance brought forward a bill for the negotiation of Treasury bonds in the possession of the Government; an amendment was offered signed by seven prominent members of the Liberal Union. The Government accepted the challenge and made the rejection of the amendment a Cabinet question. The debate on this question took place on March 19, and was known afterwards as the debate of St. Joseph's night. The Unionists could count on the support of the Republicans, Carlists, and Alfonsists, whose respective leaders all opposed the Government bill. The result looked doubtful, and turned on the Radical vote, as the combination of Democrats and Progressists was just sufficient to give the majority to the Government. Prim charged the Liberal Union with scheming for his downfall. He had done his best, he said, to prevent this split in the ranks of the majority. "The gentlemen of the Liberal Union know the difficulties that I have had to traverse, the charges that have been made against me, the counsels and supplications that I have addressed to them. I have asked the gentlemen of the Liberal Union to take all this into consideration, but I have not been fortunate enough to succeed in my efforts. These gentlemen have begun the battle; there is nothing left for me but to say, Radicals, to

the rescue! Let those who love me follow me!" His speech was received with the greatest excitement by the Chamber. Topete demonstrated his discontent by leaving the Ministerial bench. The Unionists made every effort to represent their attitude as not one of hostility to the Government, but the vote on this question reduced itself to decisive conflict between the Liberal Union and the Radicals. The latter won by only 122 to 117 votes.

Early in June, the committee having the matter in charge reported the bill providing for the method to be followed for the election of a king. The most important change was the one determining that the number of Deputies present should be equal at least to the number required for passing a bill. In opposition to this clause was a minority report and amendment which, as will be seen, had a blighting effect upon the candidacy of the Duke of Montpensier.

One of the most striking events in the debate on the bill was that the banner of the Bourbon restoration was unfurled for the first time since the Revolution of September. Canovas del Castillo, the leader of the five or six Alfonsists in the Chamber, made a powerful speech, in which, for the first time in the Constituent Cortes, the cause of the fallen dynasty was openly advocated. He began by admitting that he was no friend of the Revolution of September, and that he had contributed nothing to its success, but that he could understand a reason for it and appreciate the force of circumstances which brought it about; he should, moreover, be reconciled to its results if these results were for the good of the country. The Monarchical party was divided into

three different classes: those whom the impatience characteristic of the nation and the desire of finding at all cost a remedy for the situation, had carried over to the Carlist party, which was supposed to be dead; those who formed the three parties of the majority in the Chamber; and finally, "the great and powerful elements in the country which still adhere to the fallen dynasty." Undisturbed by the murmurs of the Assembly, he declared that if the monarchical question could be solved by the sympathies, by the decision, of a single man, he should not be afraid to say, "Here in my heart, in my spirit, in my conscience, there is but one single sympathy, and that sympathy is for Prince Alfonso." He was willing to renounce his personal preferences, and to give loyal support to any prince who might be elected and who should have sufficient strength and breadth of view to consolidate order with liberty; but "you cannot doubt," concluded the speaker, "that there is something behind me in the country; that there is not merely something but much in the country which answers my own views; and if I have not many companions here, my supporters in the country are not as few as they are here. There are in the country many, very many, public men who hope for this, who desire this; who desire before everything the prosperity of the country and will support whoever labours with good will to secure this prosperity, but without for this reason sacrificing their preferences and their sympathies for Prince Alfonso." The impression made by this speech was increased by a manifesto of the former Prime Minister, Miraflores, which declared Alfonso to be the true national king, and denied that

the Revolution of September had begun with the cry of "Down with the Bourbons."

The beginning of the campaign in favour of a Bourbon restoration was made more impressive by an event which took place at Paris on June 25. On that day Queen Isabella, at the Palace Basilewski, surrounded by many Spanish grandees and the members of her family, solemnly abdicated in favour of her son. The document proclaiming the abdication, which was published broadcast through the country, began by a painful retrospect of her thirty years' reign and her twenty months of exile. "In this review I cannot accuse myself of the woes for which I am held responsible, nor for the misfortunes that I have not been able to remedy. Twenty months have passed since I set my foot upon a foreign land. . . . In those twenty months my afflicted spirit has not ceased to listen with breathless eagerness to the echoes of the cries of grief which come from my never-forgotten Spain. Full of faith in its future, anxious for its greatness, for its integrity, for its independence, grateful for the good wishes of those who were and are faithful to me, and forgetting the wrongs inflicted upon me by those who misunderstand or assail me, I aspire to nothing for myself; but I do desire to embody the impulse of my heart in an act that will be received with rejoicing by those loyal Spaniards to whose chivalry and noble sentiment I entrust the fate of the dynasty of tradition and of the heir of a hundred kings. Here is the act of which I speak; here is the last proof that I can give and wish to give of the affection with which you have always inspired me.

“Know then, that in virtue of a solemn written declaration prepared at my residence in Paris, and in the presence of my royal family, of the grandees, dignitaries, generals, and public men of Spain, named in the document itself, I have, without any kind of compulsion, and of my own free will, abdicated my royal authority and all my political rights in favour of my beloved son, Don Alfonso, Prince of Asturias. In accordance with the laws of the nation, I retain all my civil rights as well as the state and personal dignity which they and especially the law of May 12, 1865, concede to me. I shall, therefore, keep Don Alfonso under my protection and guardianship as long as he resides abroad, and until proclaimed by a government and by a Cortes representing the legitimate will of the nation. Although my motherly heart must endure bitter pain, I shall then deliver him up to you in accordance with my ardent hopes and aspirations. In the meanwhile I shall endeavour to instil into his intelligent mind the generous and noble sentiments which so well accord with his natural inclinations, and will make him worthy, I trust, of wearing the crown of St. Ferdinand, and of succeeding those Alfonsos, predecessors from whom he, as well as his country, has received a legacy of imperishable glory. From this time, therefore, Alfonso XII. will be your real king, a Spanish king, and the king of the Spaniards, not the king of a party. Love him with the same sincerity with which he loves you; respect and protect his youth with the invincible strength of your knightly hearts, while I, in fervent supplication, pray to the Omnipotent for long days of peace and prosperity for Spain, and to

grant at the same time to my innocent son wisdom, prudence, and righteousness in his reign, and greater fortune on the throne than fell to the lot of his unfortunate mother, who was once your Queen."

The partisans of the abdication and the supporters of Alfonso laid great stress upon the assurance that he would be not the king of a party, but the king of the Spaniards. In the words of one of their most accredited organs in the press, "If some, more Royalist than the King himself, should reject these noble words and feel disgust because the Prince is not to be a king for them alone, so much the worse for them, and so much the better for the cause of the innocent boy who is the only hope of a political future of peace, liberty, and order." The time had not yet arrived for the candidacy of the young Prince to be taken seriously by the masses, and as the question of a monarch had been inextricably entangled with the course of politics and with the Ministerial crises during the year 1869-1870, for the sake of clearness it becomes expedient to give a slight sketch of the various candidacies which, in the search for a king, were agitated in the Constituent Cortes, until the problem was for the moment solved by the election of the Duke of Aosta.

The Monarchists of the Revolution were divided among themselves as to the choice of the monarch. The Liberal Union wished to continue the Bourbon dynasty by placing on the throne the Infanta Louisa Fernanda and her husband, the Duke of Montpensier; a certain portion of the Progressists demanded a king from the nation itself, and brought forward the name of the aged Espartero, while the remaining

elements headed by Prim looked anxiously for the new monarch among the princes of a foreign dynasty. The fraction of the Liberal Union which had refused to take part in the Revolution under the direction of Canovas del Castillo supported the restoration of the young Prince Alfonso.

With many candidates the question of their acceptance was the difficulty, but there was no danger of a refusal on the part of the Duke of Montpensier. The difficulty that presented itself to his supporters was not to secure his acceptance, but to make him acceptable. The Duke made no secret of his desire for the throne. He had been expelled from the kingdom in 1867 by his sister-in-law; he had advanced funds in aid of the Revolution, he had offered to the movement the encouragement of his presence; and he had hastened to take the oath to the new Constitution before the Spanish *chargé d'affaires* at Lisbon, where he was residing. From his abilities and knowledge of Spanish affairs he was admirably fitted for the throne. There was behind him the support of the Liberal Union, with two of the three leaders of the Revolution. But besides being a foreigner, he was a Bourbon and he was unpopular. In the Constituent Cortes he was continually subjected to the attacks of the Republicans, who directed their shafts against him for two reasons, — because his unpopularity in the country made him an excellent mark for attacking the monarchical institution in general, and because they hoped to produce a dissension between his supporters and his opponents in the majority. On March 8, 1869, they induced a debate on the subject by an interpellation of the Minister

of War as to whether the Duke of Montpensier was still regarded as a captain-general in the Spanish army. An affirmative reply occasioned several speeches from the Republican leaders to the effect that the Duke of Montpensier was a Bourbon and was a captain-general for no other reason than his marriage to the sister of Isabella, and that he ought to leave the country with the rest of the family. This drew from Admiral Topete the declaration that between Montpensier and the Republic he preferred Montpensier, when his attention was called by the Republicans to the fact that one of the organs of the majority — the *Iberia* — stated just the contrary, that it preferred the Republic to Montpensier. The manifest impossibility of the selection of Montpensier was well described by Castelar in his speech on the proposition to establish a regency. "Whenever I hear any one speak of the Duke of Montpensier I always think of a device employed in the universities. Whenever we reject a candidate for graduation or for one of the higher degrees, we inform the beadle, who goes out and says to the rejected candidate, 'You are a man of great merit, but I regret to inform you that you do not please these gentlemen.' Well, the Duke of Montpensier does not please these gentlemen. There are about seventy or eighty Republican Deputies, all of whom I assure you will vote against the Duke of Montpensier. There is the Progressist party, with a hundred votes, which, in consequence of the engagements contracted with the electors, will all be thrown against the Duke of Montpensier. There are thirty Democrats here who, although they have felt it their conscientious duty to make great

concessions, will, I am sure, all vote as one man against the candidacy of the Duke of Montpensier. You see, then, that the Duke of Montpensier is a man of great merit, but he does not please these gentlemen."

An event which happened outside of the Chamber had also an injurious effect upon Montpensier's candidacy. For a long time there had been bad blood between him and his cousin, Henry de Bourbon, Duke of Seville, who seems to have had some aspirations for playing the rôle of a Philippe Égalité of the Spanish Revolution. Montpensier came to Madrid in March, 1870, for the purpose of carrying on his campaign, and on the day after his arrival there appeared in the papers a violent attack upon him addressed to the Montpensierists and signed by the Duke of Seville. Montpensier had nothing to gain by a duel; if he fell, his opponents would be effectually relieved of his candidacy, and if he killed his adversary he would be forced to leave Madrid. In any case the loss of prestige by a quarrel between two members of the same family would be much greater to him than to the Duke of Seville, who had no particular character to lose. Anger, however, got the better of reason. A challenge was sent by the Duke of Montpensier, and on March 13 a duel was fought on the outskirts of Madrid, in which the Duke of Seville was killed on the spot at the third fire.

The candidacy of the Duke, shattered as it was by this episode and by the philippics of the Republicans, was finally removed from the field of possibilities by the vote on the Monarchical election bill. The bill

reported from the committee, provided that an election should be valid if one more than half the members took part in the votes, and that the candidate who received an absolute majority should be regarded as elected; one hundred and seventy-one votes would therefore be sufficient to make the vote valid. It was estimated that about sixty Republicans would take part in the vote, and that Montpensier would have a majority over Espartero, at that time the only other candidate mentioned. The Progressist Rojo Arias declared that it would be unworthy to elect a king in this way, and he proposed an amendment that an election should be valid only when a single candidate received more than half the whole House. The vote on this amendment took place on June 7, 1870, and the supporters of the Duke strained every nerve to defeat it. They knew that it would be impossible to unite 171 votes on their candidate. In spite of their efforts, the amendment was carried amid great excitement by 106 to 98 votes. This vote decided the fate of Montpensier as a candidate, and Rios Rosas, in the name of the Liberal Union, declared they would be satisfied with any candidate of the majority.

As early as 1866, after the first unsuccessful revolutionary attempt of General Prim, a meeting of Progressists and Democrats who believed the Revolution to be inevitable was held at the house of Olozaga, and it was decided that the best solution for the country was to substitute the House of Braganza for the dynasty of the Bourbons. It followed that after the Revolution a number of the leaders were in favour of offering the throne to Ferdinand, ex-King

Consort of Portugal, of the Catholic branch of the House of Coburg. This candidacy was especially popular with certain Spanish statesmen, who dreamed of Iberian Unity, and was advocated in a pamphlet by a prominent Progressist, Salazar y Mazaredo, who afterwards became a conspicuous figure in the Hohenzollern negotiations. But the ex-King of Portugal was even precipitate in declining. He caused a telegram to be sent to the Portuguese Minister in Madrid, to inform the members of the Provisional Government that he would not accept the throne of Spain, and that he should be unable to receive the deputation which was reported to be coming to offer it to him. This telegram caused no little criticism, and was made the subject of a question in the Constituent Cortes in the session of April 7, 1869. The Minister of the Interior replied that, as the form of government had not yet been decided, the throne of Spain could not have been offered to any one, but that it was true that the substance of the telegram referred to had been communicated to the Government. The subject again came up ten days later on an interpellation. The Minister of Foreign Affairs requested that the interpellation be not pressed, as the Portuguese Government had given frank and loyal explanations in response to the communications which the Spanish Government had addressed to it on the subject; that King Ferdinand had personally expressed his regret to the Spanish Minister in Lisbon, and had sent an autograph letter for transmission to the President of the Provisional Government. In this letter, "although reiterating his firm and invariable purpose not to accept the Spanish crown, he

explained in the terms the most seeming for Spain the meaning of the telegram referred to." This discussion and declination should have effectually relieved Ferdinand of any further attempts and removed him from the list of candidates.

The candidacy of the aged Espartero, Duke of Vittoria, ex-Regent of the kingdom and hero of the first Carlist war, was undoubtedly the most popular through the country; but it was not attractive to General Prim, who held the key to the situation. After failure in other directions had made the outlook for the discovery of a monarch a gloomy one, he wrote to General Espartero on May 13, 1870, expressing the desire to know whether he would accept the throne if the Cortes should elect him. "The Government," said the letter, "does not support any particular candidate, leaving as it does the fullest liberty to the Assembly; but it must avoid the unprofitable excitement of the passions which might result from a refusal to accept on the part of the candidate chosen by the Cortes."

From the tone of this letter it might be inferred that its aim was rather to draw out a negative from Espartero than to present his candidacy in a serious light. If so, the object was effected. Espartero replied: "A duty of conscience obliges me to state that it would not be possible for me to accept the high office because my many years and my feeble health would not permit me to discharge its duties." After the reception of this letter, the Government regarded Espartero as eliminated from the list of candidates, but his partisans still continued to agitate the question of his acceptance to the point of send-

ing a committee to Logroño, where he resided, for the purpose of persuading him. The Deputies who supported him published on May 30, 1870, a manifesto to the nation, in which the signers declared that "Espartero king is Spain with honour." The old soldier, perhaps from memory of his stormy regency,¹ which might well have impressed him with the uneasiness of a crowned head, persisted in his original negative, and requested his supporters not to bring forward his name, but "to give their votes to the candidate they judged to be the most worthy of occupying the throne."

General Prim's personal preference was for a candidate from the House of Savoy. He had early begun negotiations with a view to securing the candidacy of the Duke of Genoa, the nephew of Victor Emmanuel, a boy of sixteen, or the Duke of Aosta, the son of the King; but his proposals were received without enthusiasm. As has been already stated, much of the remarkable influence wielded in the Cortes and throughout the country by the President of the Council of Ministers, was due to his inscrutability. In a political arena where everybody was ready to speak, he alone knew how to keep silent. It was by enigmatical reticence like that of an ancient oracle that he held together the discordant elements of a majority which had little love for one another. We may readily believe, however, that the mysterious silence in which he enveloped himself was not entirely a matter of choice. He could not speak because he did not know where to find his king. The throne of St. Ferdinand seemed to be going a-begging, and an

¹ 1840-1843.

examination of the Almanach de Gotha in search of eligible princes had proved unprofitable. There was therefore a crowded house on June 11, 1870, before the suspension of the session, to hear the expected speech of the Prime Minister.

General Prim began by defending himself from the charge that he was responsible for the continuance of the interregnum, and that he intended to be the General Monk of the Bourbon restoration. He then described almost pathetically the difficulty of his task. "You are all public men," he said, "and you know that making kings is more difficult than appears at first sight, and on this point I admit that I too was mistaken. . . . We did not believe that when the immense difficulty of bringing the Revolution to a successful issue was overcome all the rest would be easy, but I must say that it did appear to me perfectly easy to replace the dynasty we were about to overthrow. Since that day, experience, mankind's great teacher, has shown me how difficult it is to make a king." The speaker went on to recount his abortive efforts with King Ferdinand of Portugal, with the Duke of Aosta, and with the Duke of Genoa. The Duke of Genoa had placed himself at the orders of his guardian, King Victor Emmanuel, and of his mother. The King was in favour of his accepting, but messages reached the Duchess of Genoa "painting in blackest colours the situation of the country and arousing her anxiety with stories of the dangers to which her son would be exposed." People had even gone so far as to say, "Madame, if you send your son to Spain, pray for his safety." In spite of these disappointments, the Government was not

disheartened, and had fixed its eyes upon a fourth candidate. "The gentlemen of the House doubtless expect me to pronounce the name of this fourth candidate, but they will allow me to refrain from doing so, because it would be indiscreet; it might produce complications, and in addition to this, I have given my word of honour to conceal it for the present."

This dissolution of the Cortes in 1870 left the country and the House in a state of excited uncertainty as to who this fourth candidate could be. No one dreamed of the far-reaching effects of this negotiation with the Unknown; that it would kindle another war of the Spanish Succession which would cost France milliards and provinces; for General Prim's candidate was Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern.

It has been alleged that the candidacy of the German prince was the result of a deep-laid scheme of vengeance of Prim against the Emperor Napoleon growing out of the Mexican invasion. This supposition has been rejected both by his friends and enemies. If there was one important event of his life upon which General Prim could look back with relief and satisfaction, it was his action in the Mexican invasion. His letter of March 17, 1862, to the Emperor, and that of March 23 to the French Admiral, and his speech in defence of his conduct before the Spanish Senate in the session of the same year, show such a precise estimate of the circumstance, and foretell with such accuracy what really took place, that they make up one of the most admirable episodes in the career of this remarkable man. Napoleon III. might have felt against Prim for the withdrawal of the Spanish troops the dissatisfaction

which it was human to feel against a man who had warned him in time and whose warning had been disregarded; but there was certainly no reason for Prim to feel any enmity against the Emperor. On the contrary, in his search for a king, Prim had shown himself from the beginning attentive to the wishes of the French Government and anxious to come to an arrangement with it. Nothing that he had thus far proposed had been satisfactory to the Tuileries, which in the first place had been displeased with the Revolution itself. The success of Montpensier appeared a danger to its dynastic interests, while the advent of an Italian king would have given an opportunity to the opposition in the French Chamber, where the Emperor was already charged with having given too much aid and comfort to the House of Savoy. The only solution which suited the Emperor would have been the restoration of Queen Isabella, and this could hardly be asked. The French Government therefore, while declaring that it had no intention of interfering in the affairs of the Peninsula, and that it respected the right of Spain to regulate its own destinies, affected an air of reserve; but discontent was clearly seen, and the real attitude of the Government resembled a malevolent neutrality.

The Progressist Deputy Salazar y Mazaredo is generally credited with the reputation of having been the first to bring the candidacy of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern to the attention of General Prim. He had been an ardent supporter of Iberian unity and the Portuguese candidacy, which he had sustained in a pamphlet; but after the refusal of King Ferdinand, he selected in his own mind as the most satisfactory

substitute the German Prince, who was married to a Portuguese Infanta. Prim, who was at the end of his resources and determined to discover some solution before the reunion of the Cortes, jumped at the proposal, and instructed Salazar y Mazaredo to proceed to Germany to sound the Prince and his family on the subject. His reception was not encouraging, and he was able to bring only an evasive answer to Prim from Sigmaringen. In view of his determination to discover a king somewhere, Prim resolved to make another effort, and sent Salazar with a letter to Bismarck, in order to gain the latter's co-operation. Salazar did not have a personal interview with Bismarck, but he left the letter; and in March, 1870, the answer came to Prim that perhaps an understanding could be reached. Salazar then made another journey to Berlin, and the result of the negotiations was that he returned to Madrid in the latter part of July, 1870, with the Prince's acceptance of the Spanish crown.

True to his policy of remaining on good terms with the Tuileries, Prim had guarded the greatest reserve in the negotiations and had instructed his agent to do the same. It was his intention as soon as the acceptance was obtained to have an interview with the Emperor Napoleon, who was expected at Vichy, and to endeavour to bring him over to his own views. Unfortunately, several days before the arrival of Salazar in Madrid, Prim went on a hunting expedition on his estate near Toledo. Salazar, on reaching Madrid and finding Prim absent, could not keep the secret, nor could he refrain from making to several of his friends the exultant announcement,

“Ya tenemos rey.” When Prim returned, all Madrid and all Europe knew the issue of the negotiation that he had so carefully concealed. Two of his friends went to meet him at the railway station to congratulate him on having found a candidate who accepted. Prim frowned, and twisting the glove which he held in his hand, exclaimed: “Labour lost, candidate lost, but God grant that this may be all!”¹ The only thing left, however, was to proceed as if nothing had happened. In an interview with the French Ambassador, Mercier de l’Ostende, he attempted to persuade him to use his influence with the Emperor; he also sent instructions to the same effect to Olozaga, who was ambassador at Paris. A Cabinet council was held at La Granja, where the Regent was residing, and it was unanimously decided to summon the Cortes for the 20th of the month and to present the name of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern to be voted on for the throne of Spain.

The King of Prussia had from the beginning taken the position that the acceptance of Prince Leopold was a family question, to which his consent had been asked, not as King of Prussia, but as head of the House of Hohenzollern. As Bismarck stated in the Bundesrath on July 16, 1870, the proposition had been brought in an unofficial way to the knowledge of the King of Prussia on the express condition that it should be kept secret. Since it was not a matter that concerned either Prussia or the North German Confederation, this condition was accepted, and the King made no communication to his government on what he regarded as a family matter.

¹ Victor Balaguer, *Memorias de un Constituyente*.

In France, where there had been much jealousy of Prussia since the war of 1866 with Austria, this view was not accepted. The Emperor said to Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin: "The candidacy of the Duke of Montpensier is directed against my dynasty. It concerns me and I can put up with it. The candidacy of the Prince of Hohenzollern is directed against the whole French nation; the country would not endure it, and we must provide against it." Even if the French Government had been disposed to a peaceable solution, it would have been difficult in the face of the popular excitement and of the war feeling which ran riot in the press, the Chambers, and even in the streets and cafés of Paris. The Duke de Grammont, in reply to Cochery's interpellation on July 6, said: "We do not believe that consideration for the rights of a neighbouring people compels us to allow a foreign power, by placing one of her princes upon the throne of Charles V., to disturb the balance of power in Europe and to endanger the interests and the honour of France. This we firmly hope will not come to pass. To prevent it, we count upon the wisdom of the German and the friendship of the Spanish people. Should it be otherwise, strong in your support and that of the nation, we shall know how to fulfil our duty without hesitation and without weakness."

This declaration and the attitude of the French people and press aroused Spanish susceptibilities, and the Spanish Government was determined to cling to its candidate in spite of all dangers. The Duke de Grammont wrote to Benedetti, the French Ambassador at Berlin: "If the head of the Hohenzollern

family has hitherto had nothing to do with this question, we request him to observe this attitude no longer; we request him, if not by his command, at least to intervene with the Prince with his advice, and to cause to disappear the deep disquiet which has been everywhere aroused by the plans that Marshal Prim has formed for this candidacy. Use every effort to bring it about that His Majesty advise the Prince of Hohenzollern to withdraw his acceptance." To this Benedetti replied by giving an account of several interviews at Ems with the King of Prussia, who persisted in his attitude that the candidacy had no relation with the Prussian Government. Benedetti wrote privately: "His Majesty gives me to understand that the Prince of his own motion will renounce the crown, and that the King will not hesitate to approve of his resolution." This anticipation was soon realised. On July 12 Prince Antony of Hohenzollern telegraphed both to Prim and Olozaga that in view of the late developments he withdrew his son's candidacy in his name. The notice was also given to the German press that "the Prince of Hohenzollern, in order to give back to Spain complete freedom of choice, renounces his candidacy for the throne, being firmly resolved not to allow any *casus belli* to result from what he regards as a family matter." The question was thus restored to its former status. The King of Prussia had refused to connect himself politically with it. He had approved of the acceptance and he approved of the renunciation.

This did not satisfy the French Government. On July 12 the Duke de Grammont informed Benedetti: "In order that the renunciation of Prince Antony,

in behalf of his son, may have its full effect, it seems necessary that the King should unite in it and give us the assurance that he will not again approve of this candidacy. Will you go immediately to the King and request this declaration from him, which he cannot deny if he really harbours no after-thought. In spite of the renunciation, which is now known, the excitement is so great that we do not know whether we shall succeed in getting the better of it."¹ The war party had carried everything before it, and an interpellation was announced by Duvernois as to "the securities which the Cabinet had demanded or had decided to demand in order to prevent the recurrence of like complications with Prussia." The Government was afraid to recede in the face of the frenzied excitement in Paris. The King of Prussia refused to deviate from the line of conduct he had hitherto pursued, that the question was not political, that it was a family matter, which was now closed by the voluntary withdrawal of the Prince; he therefore could and would give no guaranty. The result was the Franco-Prussian war.

On July 13 the Spanish Government informed the powers that it had received the notice of the withdrawal of the Prince of Hohenzollern. The meeting of the Cortes which had been convoked for the election of the king was postponed. On July 26 the Government declared its neutrality in the Franco-Prussian war. In this declaration the Government reported its efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of the question between France and Prussia, at the

¹ Lauser, *Geschichte Spaniens*, chap. vi. p. 245.

same time expressing its belief that with the withdrawal of Prince Leopold every cause of difference between the two countries had disappeared. "The efforts of the Spanish Government have been in vain. Vain also the noble intent of other nations, who with greater influence, if not with greater zeal or determination than Spain, have endeavoured to prevent a collision of incalculable consequences. Spain, which has no national interest in the strife, which has seen its perfect right recognised to constitute itself in its own way, and has received the assurance that its borders, its independence and dignity will be respected, must also adopt the neutral attitude which the remaining powers of Europe have decided to observe."

The Hohenzollern candidacy was therefore only a spark to create a great conflagration, and Spain still remained without a king, and General Prim without a candidate. He then turned again to the House of Savoy. Victor Emmanuel had always favoured the acceptance of the Spanish Throne by one of his family, and he had given his approval both in the case of the Duke of Genoa and of the Duke of Aosta. In the projected movement against the Pope, it would be a great advantage to have the most Catholic country in Europe governed by one of his own House. In that case there would be no danger of a repetition of the events of 1854. In a letter of July 29 Francisco de Paula Montemar, Spanish Minister at Florence, mentioned to Prim that the King had said, "Le Duc d'Aoste est ébranlé."¹ On the strength of this

¹ Ricardo Muñoz, *Apuntes Históricas sobre la Revolución de 1868*, vol. ii.

phrase, Prim instructed Montemar to re-open the negotiations with a view to securing the acceptance of the Prince. This was in the month of August. On September 29 Montemar telegraphed that he had had an interview with Victor Emmanuel; that the King was entirely in favour of his son's acceptance, and that nothing was left but to overcome the resistance of the latter. On the 11th of the next month he telegraphed that he had just seen the Italian Prince, who had instructed him to advise General Prim to sound the Powers as to whether the acceptance of the Duke of Aosta would be well received, and that, if their answers were favourable, there would be no further hesitation on his part.

Prim objected to this on the ground that Spain had the right to offer, and Italy the right to accept, the crown without consulting any one, and that such action would always have "the appearance of submitting the autonomy of two nations to the convenience or caprice of foreigners." The Florence Court was determined, however, not to have a repetition of the Hohenzollern firebrand, and insisted on an explanation of the views of the Powers as a condition of the Prince's acceptance. Prim finally yielded. The French Government of National Defence at Tours replied that the candidacy of the Duke of Aosta was, from a monarchical standpoint, the most agreeable of all that had been hitherto suggested. The Prussian note said: "We were the first who recognised the right of Spain to decide her own future. We will not to-day deviate from that principle, and we will not imitate the example which France gave before the war, of interfering in the

internal affairs of Spain and making their solution depend upon the assent of France.”

On November 2 Montemar telegraphed the official acceptance of the Duke, which was in these words: “With the consent of the King, my father, I authorise you to reply to Marshal Prim that he may present my candidature if he believes that my name can unite the friends of liberty, of order, and of constitutional government. I will accept the crown if the vote of the Cortes proves to me that it is the will of the Spanish nation.”

November 16 was the day fixed for the election of a king. It was expected and feared that there might be disturbances in Madrid. Every precaution was taken to suppress any attempted disorder, and troops were stationed at different points of the capital. The Congress presented an animated appearance. None of the Deputies was absent, except three who were detained through illness. One Deputy appeared with a broken arm, the result of an accident three days before, and one had come from the Canary Islands for the purpose of giving his vote. General Prim, calm and smiling, assured his friends that there would be no disturbance in the capital.

The beginning of the session was tumultuous. The Republican minority attempted by every device to delay the entrance into the order of the day. One demanded that the article of the Constitution should be read which provided that no foreigner, unless naturalised, should hold an office in Spain; another read the names of those who in 1854 had voted for Isabella, and then the names of those who on the same occasion had voted for the Republic. Figueras

and Castelar insisted on the right of discussion. This was refused, first by the President and then by a majority vote. Laugier greeted the Carlist Vinader, when he requested that the Papal Bull excommunicating Victor Emmanuel should be read. All attempts of the opposition to obstruct the business in hand failed before "the impassibility of Prim, who never opened his lips, and the energy of Ruiz Zorrilla, the President of the Chamber. The roar of the Republican minority was heard, it was seen at times to rise like a monstrous wave, but like a wave to fall and to break at the feet of the President."¹

The result of the vote was 191 for the Duke of Aosta, 60 for the Federal Republic, 27 for the Duke of Montpensier, 8 for the Duke of Vittoria, 1 for the Duchess of Montpensier, 2 for Prince Alfonso de Bourbon, 3 for the United Republic, and 19 votes in blank. The President then declared that the Duke of Aosta had been elected King of the Spaniards. A committee of twenty-four Deputies was appointed to go to Florence to convey to the Prince the official notification of his election to the Spanish throne. It was also agreed, in view of the absence of the President and Secretaries with the committee, that the sessions should be suspended until its return.

The session closed at ten o'clock in the evening, after a speech by the President, in which, addressing himself directly to the leaders of the Monarchists who had opposed the Duke of Aosta, he urged them to give to the elected monarch their hearty support. The Montpensierist Topete, on leaving the chamber, exclaimed: "No one will be more loyal than I to the

¹ Victor Balaguer, *Memorias de un Constituyente*.

new monarch, but God grant that those who are bringing him here may never repent of it;" while Castelar cried out to a group of Deputies: "They are mad, they are mad, they are mad!"

The official acceptance of the Duke of Aosta was received at Madrid on November 21, and on the 24th the committee left Madrid for Carthagena, which was to be the point of embarkation, whence the Mediterranean squadron, consisting of the frigates Numantia, Vitoria, and Villa de Madrid, was to convey the deputation to Genoa. In accordance with the custom in Spain, where a man's friends, political and private, always assemble at the railway when he is going on a journey, the station was filled with Deputies, the authorities and friends of the members of the committee. In taking leave of Balaguer, General Prim said: "When the King comes all this trouble will end. There will be no other cry than 'Long live the King!' We shall suppress all these men who dream of plans for destroying liberty, and who confound the word 'progress' with the word 'disorder,' and liberty with license. Bring the King; bring him quickly! When he is here, woe to the evil-doer! Long live the King!"¹

The deputation landed at Genoa on November 30, and was welcomed with royal honours. On December 4 it was received at the Pitti Palace in Florence by the King of Italy. There were present Prince Humbert, the Council of Ministers, the dignitaries of the Court, the representatives of the Italian Chambers, the municipality of Florence, and the representatives of the foreign powers. Ruiz Zorilla

¹ Victor Balaguer, *Memorias de un Constituyente*.

first addressed the King of Italy as head of the family, requesting that his permission be given the committee to offer to his son the throne of Spain. The King gave his consent, and expressed the hope that the Prince might fulfil his lofty mission in a manner that should redound to the prosperity and greatness of his adopted country. Ruiz Zorilla then read an address to the Duke of Aosta, to which the latter replied in the following effective speech: —

“With a spirit of gratitude, I will briefly explain why I have decided to accept, as I do accept in your presence, with God’s aid and the consent of the King, my father, the ancient and glorious crown which you have come to offer me. Providence had already granted to me an enviable lot. Scion of an illustrious dynasty, I shared in the glories of my ancient House and in the destinies of my family without the responsibilities of government. I saw opened before me an easy and fortunate road, where there would not have been wanting, as there have not hitherto been wanting, opportunities of doing good service to my country. You have come to open before my eyes a wider horizon; you summon me to fulfil a duty, arduous always, but still more arduous in the times in which we live. Faithful to the traditions of my ancestors who have never avoided duty or danger, I accept the noble and lofty mission which Spain desires to entrust to me, although I am not ignorant of the great difficulties which it offers, or of the responsibility which I assume before history by this acceptance. I trust in God, who sees the rectitude of my intentions, and I trust in the Spanish nation so justly proud of its independence, of its

great religious and political traditions, which has given so many proofs of its ability to harmonise its respect for order with its indomitable and passionate love of liberty.

“I am too young — the acts of my life are too unknown — for me to be able to attribute to my own merits the choice which the noble Spanish people has made. I feel sure that you have believed that Providence has granted to my youth the most useful and most fruitful instruction: the spectacle of a people reconquering unity and independence as a result of its intimate union with its king, and of the faithful adherence to free institutions. You wish that your country, on whom nature has showered all her gifts and history all her glories, should likewise enjoy that happy union which has made, and I hope will always make, the prosperity of Italy. It is to my father’s glory and to my country’s good fortune that I owe my election; and to be worthy of it, I cannot do less than loyally follow the example of the constitutional traditions in which I have been reared. Soldier in the army, I shall be the first citizen before the representatives in the nation.

“The annals of Spain are full of glorious names of valiant cavaliers, of bold navigators, of great captains, and of famous kings. I know not whether I shall attain the fortune of shedding my blood for my new country, and whether it will be given to me to add another to the innumerable pages which celebrate the glories of Spain; but in any case I am quite sure — for this depends upon myself and not upon fortune — that the Spaniards will always be able to say of the king whom they have elected, ‘His loyalty has

risen above the struggle of parties, and he has no other desire than national harmony and national prosperity.' ”

This speech and the Prince's manly bearing won the sympathies of the Deputies, some of whom became enthusiastic upon the brilliant prospects of the new reign. It was decided that eight of the committee should remain in order to accompany the King, whose departure was fixed for December 18, while Ruiz Zorilla and the remaining members should return to Madrid in order that the Cortes might resume its session and vote the necessary laws before the King's arrival.

All difficulties had not yet vanished. Many of influence in the Florentine Court attempted to throw obstacles in the way of the King's departure, alleging as a pretext the delicate state of the Duchess of Aosta and the consequent advisability of waiting until the new year. From Madrid, also, newspaper caricatures and libels were constantly received for the purpose of making the King change his purpose. The mission of the members of the deputation who remained was therefore difficult and delicate, and their embarrassment was not decreased by the reception, on the 14th, of a telegram from the Government, instructing them without explanation to defer the journey.

The King was visibly dissatisfied at the delay. Anonymous letters full of threats and forebodings still kept coming from Madrid. Finally, to the great relief of the committee, on the 19th, a telegram was received fixing January 1 for the King's arrival in Madrid, and naming Carthagena as the port of landing.

On the 27th, in stormy weather, King Amadeo set sail from Spezia with the committee. Had he known what had taken place in Madrid on that day, he might still have hesitated. The following words from the journal of Balaguer, one of the committee and Prim's intimate friend, seem almost prophetic: "I know not what King Amadeo felt on seeing the fair coast of Italy grow dim in the distance, and with them his native land, his family, the memories of his childhood, his wife and his children, who remained there until they could go to Spain. For myself, I can say that although Italy was not my country, although I was returning to my native land, although I was leaving no memory, no tie, but was, on the contrary, going to meet my own people, I felt my soul afflicted by the most profound sadness. We had come in search of a young, generous, and valiant prince. We were tearing him from the arms of his family, perhaps against his own wishes, to carry him to an unknown country, agitated by the tempest of political passions, the most furious and the most horrible of tempests. An immense responsibility weighs upon us. What glory if Providence crowns our labours! But, on the other hand, what great sadness, what eternal regret, if political tempests, evil passions, or our own madness prevent us from realising the end and aim of our efforts!"¹

¹ Victor Balaguer, *Memorias de un Constituyente*.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXPERIMENT OF AMADEO AND THE DEMOCRATIC MONARCHY

(December 27, 1870 — February 12, 1873.)

DURING the absence of the deputation in Italy and the suspension of the session of the Cortes, the position of the Government and its chief became daily more critical. The Republican and Unionist press teemed with personal attacks upon the President of the Council of Ministers. In the provinces, and especially in the University towns of Salamanca, Seville, and Valladolid, proclamations were published against the Duke of Aosta; in Madrid itself the students jeered their professors who had voted for him. In the attempt to suppress these demonstrations against the Government and the King, there had sprung up a certain organisation which went by the name of the *partido de la porra*.¹ The offices of several journals which had gone beyond bounds in their attacks were invaded, and their editors beaten. Several Carlist clubs were opened at Madrid; the organisation closed them by force. The Government, and General Prim in particular, were accused of being in league with this organisation, the aim of which was to teach respect for existing institutions by a process of intimidation, and to counteract by force the inconvenience resulting from too full an exercise of the individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

¹ The Clubbing Club.

With the return of the President and Secretaries, the Cortes resumed its deliberations, on December 15, in a turbulent session, in which the Republican deputy, Diaz Quintero, referred to Spain's chosen King as a "monkey," while his colleague in the same party described the proceedings as an "unworthy farce;" and the Liberal Unionist, Mendez de Vigo, warned the Duke of Aosta to reflect upon the true state of public opinion before setting his foot upon Spanish soil.

The Government was in an embarrassing position in the face of the obstinate spirit of the opposition. The theory of the Revolutionists of September was that the new monarchy could not begin until the Constituent Cortes had resigned its sovereignty. The Duke of Aosta would therefore be forced to linger in Italy until there was an end to the discussion over all the laws which were to be passed before the dissolution. The evident intention of the minority to contest every inch of progress by dilatory tactics might extend the period to an indefinite length. The majority held a meeting on December 18 for the purpose of considering this matter, at which it was decided to bring forward a proposition to close the discussion of pending bills on December 30; if the bills were not disposed of by that date, the Government should be authorised to regard them as approved, and to execute them as laws without prejudice to their consideration in the succeeding Cortes. The reception of the King was to be the last act of the Constituent Cortes, which was to be dissolved at the conclusion of the ceremony.

The terms of this proposition, although responding

to the urgency of the case, were clearly an infringement of Article 2 of the Constitution, which provided that no bill could be passed by the Cortes without previous discussion. All the different elements of the opposition united in a bitter revolt against this suggestion. Not only the Republicans, but the supporters of Montpensier and Alfonso took part in the assault upon the Government. The Unionist Rios Rosas and the Alfonsist Canovas del Castillo joined forces in the defence of the Constitution against what they called a *coup d'état* of the majority. Pi y Margall charged Prim with political inconsistency amounting to the loss of political shame. The greatest impression was made by the speech of Topete. "If," said the author of the Cadiz pronunciamento, "we have not been able to do all that we promised; if before the natural perturbations which follow revolutions, we have not been able to fulfil the promises we have made; if we are the first to infringe the Constitution, — if I do this, to what am I reduced? To a vulgar conspirator, and a vulgar conspirator I am not." He concluded by affirming that he would not only not vote for the proposition, but would not even authorise it by his presence; that he would rather hand in his resignation both as Deputy and as admiral.

The Government proposition was passed by the necessary number of votes, but the character of the debate and of the members who had opposed it, as well as the undeniable fact that the Constitution had been violated, inflicted a serious blow upon the moral prestige of the Government. Against Prim as master of the situation, the opposition press waged a pitiless

war. The Unionist journal *La Política*, the Republican *El Combate*, and the usually moderate Alfonsist *La Epoca* vied with each other in the fierceness of their attacks.

The explosion of the heated political atmosphere startled the country on December 27, the day when Amadeo sailed from Spezia to enter into possession of his kingdom. About half-past seven in the evening, General Prim left the House of Deputies with his two adjutants to drive to the Ministry of War. On reaching the end of the Calle Turco where it enters the Calle Alcala at the angle made by the palace and grounds of the Duke de Riera, Prim's carriage was blocked by another carriage waiting at the junction of the two streets. The street was dark and gloomy, and a fall of snow — an uncommon occurrence in Madrid — made the Calle Alcala, the main thoroughfare of the city, less frequented than usual. One of the adjutants who looked out to inquire the cause of the delay had just time to exclaim, "Stoop, General, they are firing on us," when a volley of shots rang out on both sides of the carriage. Prim's coachman urged on his horses and succeeded in passing the obstructing vehicle. On arriving at the neighbouring Ministry of War, it was found that the Prime Minister had been struck by several balls, in the left hand, arm, and shoulder. He immediately summoned Serrano and Topete to his bedside to take measures to prevent a Republican rising and to prepare for the reception of the King; nor was it in vain that he relied upon their patriotism.

Serrano at once formed a new Ministry, with

Topete as President of the Council. In the session of the Cortes on the 28th, the day after the attempt upon Prim's life, Topete declared that at the bedside of the dying general he had seen the fatherland, the national honour, and the Revolution itself, wounded. He had come to fulfil the will of the Chamber. "I will go and bring," continued he, "the King you have chosen. Although I did not give him my vote, I assure you that my breast shall be his shield; and until he chooses the man who is to take my place, I pledge my life for his life." Vega de Armijo, in behalf of the Liberal Union, expressed abhorrence of the crime, and assured the Government of support in the preservation of order. Figueras, in the name of the Republican minority, declared that as the party of legality and morality, the minority condemned political assassination; and the Carlist Vinader denounced the deed, "not in the name of the Revolution, which has been assailed, but in the name of law and justice, which have been outraged." Finally, the President, Ruiz Zorilla, made the following significant speech in allusion to the Republicans: "A deed like that of yesterday is not prepared in a moment. There must have been previous inspiration, instigation, and secret meetings. The methods employed for the execution of a crime like this at the time, under the circumstances, and in the manner in which this crime has been committed, are not devised in a day. I do not allude to any particular person so long as I have no proof. I shall now repeat to the country what I believe, and what I have already said: that it may not be thought that the preaching of this or that kind of doctrines is a matter of indif-

ference; that it is a matter of indifference to read newspapers and club manifestoes which preach murder and the destruction of society, — doctrines which lead us to what we have yesterday seen.”

The first part of a proposition expressing the deep abhorrence of the Cortes was approved by 201 votes, and the second part, declaring its readiness “to give its entire support to the defence of the interests of society and the Revolution,” by 140 to 3. General Prim survived his wounds until the 30th. At the night session of the Cortes on that day his death was announced by Moret, the Minister of Finance. His last words are said to have been: “I die, but the King is coming. Long live the King!”

The assassination of General Prim removed from the stage the most striking figure of the Spanish Revolution, and the one man who could have changed the course of succeeding events. Of all the leaders of the Revolution, he was the only one who had known how to guide its development to the solution which he had made his own; and he may be said to have been happy in the hour of his death, when he had disproved the charges that the prolongation of the interregnum was due to his selfishness and to his determination to elevate himself to the highest dignity in the State. A distinguished soldier and a born conspirator, not over-scrupulous in his methods, he had, upon the attainment of power, proved a brilliant example of the fact that the qualities which make the one and the other are not always inconsistent with those of statesmanship of the highest order.

On the morning of December 30 the Numantia,

with the King and the deputation, arrived at the port of Carthagena. The royal standard was unfurled, but to the surprise of every one on board, there was no salute from the port, nor any signs of the steamer which was to bring General Prim to receive the King. The silence on shore proved that something extraordinary had occurred. The uneasiness was increased when, after some delay, the pilot appeared, and, in reply to a question by Balaguer, said that he did not know where General Prim was, but that Topete was in Carthagena as President of the Council of Ministers, with General Cordova and General Concha, the first two prominent supporters of Montpensier and the last retired from public life since the Revolution. On being pressed, the pilot finally gave a report of what had occurred in Madrid, and in about half an hour Admiral Topete, with the Minister of Public Works, Echegeray, and several generals, came on board, where an official reception was held.

It was decided that the journey to Madrid should be made on the following day. Amadeo then visited Carthagena in company with Topete. His youth and gallant bearing won him a warm reception by the populace. On the 2nd he arrived in Madrid. His first visit was to the bier of Prim, in the church of the Atocha. He then proceeded to the Chamber of Deputies to comply with the ceremonial of taking the oath, and afterwards paid a visit of condolence to the widow of the dead statesman. His passage through the city between the troops which lined the streets was watched by an interested but silent crowd. In the palace he took possession of a reduced number of apartments, and seemed from the outset determined

from policy or inclination to impress upon the public that he was a true democratic king in contrast to the formal etiquette of the Hapsburgs and Bourbons. It was a revolution in Madrid, where the night life runs to a later hour than that of any other capital in Europe, to see the palace closed by midnight and the King out of bed at seven o'clock in the morning. The receptions at the palace were without ceremony. The King showed himself in public, sometimes on horseback, sometimes in an ordinary carriage; usually alone, and always without an escort. Although this was entirely consistent with the spirit of the new Monarchy and its supporters, it was very different from the Spanish idea of royalty, and was ridiculed by the members of the ancient aristocracy, who stood severely aloof and lost no opportunity of showing their contempt for the new dynasty.

On the day after his arrival, the King intrusted Serrano with the formation of a Ministry. Two portfolios were given to the Democrats, and the remainder divided between the Unionists and Progressists. Serrano, who now appeared as the leader of the Liberal Union, followed the example of Prim in uniting in himself the Presidency of the Cabinet and the War Department. This transfer of influence to the Unionists was the more felt by the Progressists because between their leaders, Sagasta and Ruiz Zorrilla, the rivals for Prim's succession, there did not reign a perfect harmony. The difficulty of dividing the offices among the three parties which composed this conciliation Ministry, gave the King the first intimation of the intricacies of Spanish party politics.

The Cortes was summoned for April 3, 1871, and the Government employed the usual methods for securing the largest majority possible for the supporters of the new order of things. This was the more important on account of the significance given to the contest by the Republicans, who declared that the Constituent Cortes had no authority to elect a monarch, and that the voters could indirectly confirm or revoke the election of Amadeo. The elections, therefore, developed into a contest between the advocates and the opponents of the dynasty. Although there was as yet no definite coalition between the factions of the opposition, there was a disposition in many districts to bargain for mutual support.

The elections resulted in the return of 48 Republicans, 62 Carlists, and 237 Ministerialists. About a dozen Alfonsists and ten followers of Rios Rosas, who were still described as Montpensierists, completed the new Congress. Even before the House was organised, the sessions were tumultuous, and no less than forty days were spent in the examination of election certificates. Olozaga was elected President of the Chamber. Through fear of a proposition from the minority for an amendment to the Constitution in a sense hostile to the House of Savoy, the majority proposed to amend the rules of the House by forbidding the introduction of propositions for constitutional amendments except after authorisation by a majority of the seven sections into which the Chamber was divided. The leaders of the minority then decided to propose their constitutional amendment before the debate on the amendment to the rules, which they intended to spin out as long as possible,

could be concluded. This attack was warded off by another proposition of the majority, to defer the reading of all constitutional amendments until the amendment to the rules was discussed and voted. This was approved on May 24, and the amendment to the rules was passed on the 30th, in spite of the fury of the minority, which, on the sessions of the 22nd and 23rd, developed into veritable tumults. On the 31st began the debate on the address in reply to the King's speech, which, in the face of numerous amendments more or less hostile to the dynasty on the part of the Carlists and Republicans, did not end until June 23.

In the meantime the spirit of conciliation which seemed so strong after the death of Prim, at the beginning of the new reign, through personal jealousies and a difference of principle, was becoming feebler in the majority and the Cabinet. The three parties of the Revolution had never been firmly united, especially since the Unionist attack on Prim on the celebrated St. Joseph's night. In addition to this want of sympathy among the three parties, there was now evidence of a split in the ranks of the Progressists themselves. One section of the party declared that with the promulgation of the Constitution, the election of the King, and the organisation of the State, the work of the Revolution should be regarded as finished. The object to be aimed at now was, by a conservative policy to secure order and harmony rather than sweeping reforms. The other section claimed that the country must be brought abreast of the new political institutions by economic and civil reforms; and that only in this way could

the dynasty take root in the nation. The former tendency was represented by Sagasta; the latter by Ruiz Zorilla. With the former were the Unionists, with the latter the Democrats. The latter were also assured of a more benevolent attitude on the part of the Republicans.

The continued attacks and interpellations in the Chamber, the disturbances in Madrid on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the pontificate of Pius IX., the onslaughts in the press, had done much to injure the prestige of the Government. Difficulties in the department of Moret, the Minister of Finance, for which he was not responsible, and the attacks upon him, caused Moret to retire from the Cabinet. Serrano offered his resignation; but the King, who did not appreciate personal phases of the party politics of his adopted country, and who laboured under the delusion that in Spain, as in other countries, parliamentary government was government by a majority of the Chambers, insisted that the President of the Council was not justified in his resignation so long as he had an effective working majority in the Chamber of Deputies, as it was proved he did have only the day before by the vote of 164 to 98 on the address. The Presidents of both Chambers agreed with the King in his view of the crisis. Serrano therefore continued at the head of the Government; but the breach between the factions grew wider day by day, until finally Ruiz Zorilla openly declared that it was his opinion that the coalition ought to cease. He hoped to preside over a Cabinet composed exclusively of his own followers, which would enable him to carry out his

policy of liberal reforms. His resignation, followed by that of Martos of the State Department and Beranger of the Navy Department, brought on a general crisis; and on July 20 Serrano again placed his resignation in the hands of the King.

Amadeo now saw himself forced to choose between these two factions, — one urging the Government to rest content with the restoration of order and harmony, the other advocating sweeping reforms. In accordance with his own natural inclinations, as well as the advice and recommendations he had received before leaving Italy, he endeavoured to prevent the breaking up of the coalition, and to continue with a Conservative Cabinet. He therefore requested Serrano to form a new Government. The latter attempted to secure another conciliation ministry from the three parties. Failing in this, owing to the refusal of the Democrats, he next endeavoured to form a combination of Unionists and Progressists. In this he was thwarted by the hostile attitude of the Ruiz Zorilla wing of the Progressist party and by the refusal of Sagasta, who was unwilling at this time to break entirely with his old comrades and to identify himself with the Unionists. The King was therefore forced to call Ruiz Zorilla, who formed a purely Progressist Ministry. He attempted to heal the breach in the party by giving Sagasta a place in the Cabinet; but the latter, who had no desire to subordinate himself to his rival, declined, on the ground that having been in favour of continuing the coalition among the three parties, it would not be fitting that he should enter a Cabinet based upon a rupture of the coalition.

The new Ministry was formed on July 25, and in his speech explaining his programme to the Chamber, Ruiz Zorilla declared that his Ministry should be called a Radical Ministry; that it was ready to enter upon the development of the Revolution of September by a series of laws and decrees of liberal character, such as the institution of trial by jury; and although desirous of maintaining harmonious relations with the Holy See, the establishment of religious liberty by the introduction of civil marriage and a civil registry of births would be insisted upon. The Government would endeavour to maintain public order by legal means; if extraordinary disturbances required extraordinary methods, these would be left to other hands, or a bill of indemnity requested from the Chamber. Of the necessity of morality in the public service, he spoke in plain terms. In the place of a partisan civil service, the service should be made national and Spanish. "Let us not continue with the growing spectacle of one civil service in the hands of the Progressists, of another in the hands of the Moderates, another Democratic, or another Republican; because such a service is always a service of expediency for exploiting the people and encouraging the craze for public office."

The Republicans, who preserved a benevolent attitude towards Ruiz Zorilla and his advanced Government, in accordance with the wishes of the latter, did not insist upon the discussion of the causes of the crisis, and on the same day the Ministry was formed the Cortes suspended its session until October.

During the recess a circular of the new Minister of Finance, Servando Ruiz Gomez, declared that in

the future government officials would not be removed for political reasons; that their continuance in office would depend solely upon their efficiency and industry; and that with this Government for the first time there would not be a general cleaning out of the offices. The refusal of the Minister of War, General Cordova, to receive the resignation of many officers of high rank, with the statement that the army should not be the tool of a party, attracted great attention on account of its novelty and made a favorable impression for the new Government. During the summer the country was tranquil and order was maintained. The subscription to the consolidated debt of 150,000,000 pesetas was carried through with brilliant success, and the Government, true to its assurances, effected economies in the different branches of the Administration amounting to a hundred million of pesetas. A decree was also issued for a new census of landed property, city and rural, for the purpose of increasing the receipts from the land tax, the basis of the Spanish system of taxation. In pursuance of the authority granted by the Cortes, a general amnesty was declared for all political offences.

The popularity of the Government was reflected on the dynasty, and towards the end of August, when the King held a review of troops in honour of his brother, Prince Humbert, who was visiting him, he was received by the populace with acclamation. Ruiz Zorilla determined to take advantage of this favourable aspect of affairs, in order to bring the King into closer relations with his people. A trip through the country was decided upon, and especially through the provinces which were regarded as Republican strong-

holds. This was a success beyond all expectation; and considering how the Spaniards give rein to their feelings, it is remarkable that during the whole journey no unpleasant incident occurred. In Castellon, Valencia, Tarragona, Reus, Barcelona, the King received a hearty reception, and after a month's absence returned to Madrid on October 1, the day before the Cortes resumed its sessions.

The success of the Government policy during the summer brought Ruiz Zorilla before the Cortes with overweening confidence. In that body, in addition to the minority hostile to the King, there had also developed a dynastic opposition to the Government, composed of the Progressist followers of Sagasta and the Liberal Union. More than ever was apparent the irreparable loss which the Progressists had suffered by the death of Prim, whose iron hand enforced discipline in the ranks of the party. The Presidency of the Cortes had become vacant by the appointment of Olozaga as Ambassador at Paris. Ruiz Zorilla recommended Rivero to the majority, as the Government candidate for the Presidency, and Sagasta announced himself as the candidate of the opposition. The open rupture in the ranks of the Progressists was thus clear. Ruiz Zorilla was so sure of the election of his candidate that he declined to listen to Sagasta's offer to withdraw if Rivero would do the same. On the first vote, neither candidate obtained a majority; on the second, Sagasta was elected by 123 to 113. Ruiz Zorilla at once placed his resignation in the hands of the King. In order, if possible, to conceal the breach in the Progressist party, Sagasta declined to form a Government himself, and advised the King to entrust

Espartero with the organisation of a Ministry in which he expressed himself as ready to take a portfolio.

The news of the fall of Ruiz Zorilla created great excitement in Madrid, and occasioned demonstrations in his favour. A large mass meeting was held at the Prado, under the auspices of the Progressist Club, to express allegiance to the "Government of Economies."

When, as was expected, Espartero, on account of his age and ill-health, declined the offer made to him, it would have been logical, in view of the defeat of Ruiz Zorilla, who represented a policy opposed to conciliation, and more in accordance with parliamentary practice, to return to a coalition Cabinet; but the popularity of Ruiz Zorilla's Government deterred the King from this step. He therefore entrusted the formation of a new Ministry to Admiral Malcampo, who might almost be said to have begun his public career in this high position. Malcampo constructed a somewhat colourless Cabinet from the Progressist followers of Sagasta, and declared that the new Ministry would follow the line of policy of its predecessors.

During the life of Prim the Progressist party was the most compact, powerful, and best disciplined of the three parties which contributed to the success of the Revolution of September. This influence it owed, not to the ability of the members who composed it, but to the energy of character, profound sagacity, and military prestige of its chief; and until his death it voted and acted as one man. To the discipline of this party and its obedience to the dictates of Prim was due the election of Amadeo. It was now, within less than a year after the death of its chief, rent asunder in almost equal divisions,

each with its respective leaders; and this division in the very party which was the creator and defender of the Democratic Monarchy was ominous of the fate in store for the King.

The Malcampo Ministry was received in the Cortes with an interpellation on its intended policy regarding the International Society of Workmen. This organisation was then at its height, and Ruiz Zorilla, in contrast with the attitude of France and other Continental governments, was charged with viewing it with too much leniency. The debates on this subject lasted until October 10, and during this interval the Government enjoyed a certain amount of tranquillity. During the debate it declared that the Internationalists by their doctrines and tendencies came under the provisions of the penal code and the jurisdiction of the courts. This was in opposition to the view of the Radicals and Republicans, who held that the aims and methods of the society were entirely legal. In the vote on the resolution, approving the views of the Government on the question, the Radicals refrained from voting, because there was no possibility of a majority against the Government, and because the Carlists sided with the Ministry on account of the atheistic tendencies of the society. Only a few days later, however, Ruiz Zorilla saw his opportunity for uniting all the divisions of the opposition. On November 17, the Carlist Cruz Ochoa moved a resolution to the effect that any restriction upon the establishment of monasteries, nunneries, or religious communities of any kind authorised by the Church, was an infringement of the Constitution. The Government en-

deavoured to defer the question by referring the resolution to a committee, but in vain. Romero Robledo then moved to table the resolution, and supported his motion in a long and bitter attack upon the policy of Ruiz Zorilla and the Radicals in allying themselves with the Carlists and Republicans in their attempt to make government impossible. There was but slight response on the part of the Radicals, who for once relied rather upon votes than speeches, while Conservatives like Serano, Topete, Rios Rosas, and Elduayen spoke in favor of the Government. The debate lasted all night, until the motion of Romero Robledo was defeated by 174 votes to 116. Malcampo in the meantime had explained to the King the anomalous attitude of the opposition in attacking one of the most important decrees of the Revolution, — the decree for the suppression of the monasteries, which had been issued by Ruiz Zorilla himself, when Minister of Public Works in the Provisional Government. The result of the interview was that immediately after the vote on Romero Robledo's motion to table the resolution, and before the vote on the resolution itself could be taken, Malcampo at daybreak mounted the tribune, and with some emphasis read a decree of the King in which, "in accordance with the powers conferred by Article 42 of the Constitution, and in harmony with the opinion of the Council of Ministers," he suspended the sittings of the Cortes during the present legislative session.

This measure, in the circumstances unavoidable, excited much irritation in the opposition, and

especially among the Radicals, who held a large meeting in which Rivero declared amid great applause: "This democratic Constitution has proclaimed a dynasty. I accept it and will be faithful to it; but let it be clearly understood that I place liberty above this Monarchy and above everything." The suspension by decree of the first Cortes of the new reign after accomplishing nothing but the long and tedious debate on the question of the Internationalists, did not strengthen the position of the King, and seriously impaired the prestige of the Democratic Monarchy.

In consequence of the virtual defeat of the Malcampo Cabinet and of the fact that Sagasta more than any one else represented the policy which, as shown by the suspension, it was decided to follow, the latter was called upon to form the fourth Cabinet of the reign of Amadeo. The tendency of Sagasta was more and more toward blending with the Liberal Union, especially since the leaders of that party had expressed their intention of supporting his government. The new Ministry was constituted on December 21. Malcampo himself was retained in the Navy Department and several members of the late Government in other offices. All the Ministers were Progressists of the Sagasta wing, except Topete, who took the Colonies.

The question was whether to summon or dissolve the Chambers when it seemed certain that the new Ministry would have an adverse majority in the House of Deputies. It was finally decided to declare the session of 1871 concluded, and to summon the Cortes for January 22, 1872, in the hope of being

able, by an appeal to the patriotism of the opposition, at least to dispose of the pressing questions of finance. This hope was not realised. From the moment of opening the session on January 22, the hostile attitude of the opposition was so apparent that the President of the Council of Ministers was continually interrupted in his speech explaining the Ministerial programme. He maintained that the division of the Monarchists of September into two parties, Conservative and Radical, was necessary, and declared that he was Conservative within the new dynasty and the Constitution of 1869. In discussing the condition of the Treasury, he made reflections upon the policy of the Ruiz Zorilla Cabinet. His speech ended in a tumult.

Seeing that there was no possibility that his offer of a truce would be accepted, Sagasta determined to bring on a conflict that very night. A disagreement having arisen between the acting President of the Chamber, Martin de Herrera, and the Secretaries, in reference to a motion proroguing the sitting, the former appealed to the House to sustain him, and Sagasta made a Cabinet question of this somewhat frivolous issue, — the propriety of the President's conduct. The President and the Government with him was defeated by 172 to 121, and an adjournment was taken to the 24th.

On that day, since the decree of dissolution had already been read in the upper House, all the Deputies were eager to make a speech before the approval of the minutes of the last sitting and the reading of the decree of dissolution. In entire disregard of the rules of the House, there were not only speeches, but

some of them of an incendiary character. The sitting, in fact, was a tumult from beginning to end. Ruiz Zorilla closed his speech with the shout of "God save the country! God save liberty! God save the dynasty!" Rivero declared that he feared that the dissolution of Parliament was the destruction of the rights of the citizens. Martos charged Sagasta with political immorality, and declared that he belonged to that class of men who, "contrary to their own wishes, are destined to destroy what they love most, and be the ruin of what they are under obligation to defend." One Republican insisted that the King "had broken with Parliament, and that the dynasty of Savoy ended on that day;" another exclaimed that the questions could "be settled in the barricade;" while Figueras declared that the Government had "thrown down a gauntlet to the country; that his party would take it up at the proper time, and would fix the day and hour of the combat." Conservatives like Canovas del Castillo took advantage of the occasion to call attention to the incapacity for government on the part of the authors of the Revolution of September. After a turbulent sitting the decree of dissolution was finally read.

To the King the outlook was gloomy. Within a year after his succession, there had been four separate Ministries, and the Cortes suspended and then dissolved with nothing accomplished. The great Progressist party which had elevated him to the throne was split into two divisions, — one in alliance with the Unionists who had never favoured his candidature, the other, by its leaning to the Republicans, assum-

ing day by day an appearance of opposition to the dynasty. Of the two solutions to be chosen, of the two policies to be pursued, neither seemed free from the promise of dissension and disaster. Nor was the life at court attractive. The uncompromising attitude of the old nobility and the petty intrigues between the Radical and Conservative officials in attendance, embittered the life of the King and Queen; nor could they rid themselves of the impression that, after all, they were strangers in a strange land, who might at any moment be called upon to journey home again.

The new Cortes was convoked for April 24. On February 20, in accordance with the conservative declarations which he had made in the Congress of Deputies, Sagasta modified his Cabinet so as to secure a larger representation from the Unionists. On the next day the Government published a circular promising to observe the Constitution, to guarantee the rights of all citizens, and to defend the existing institutions as well as to respect the liberty of the electors.

Despite this declaration, the modification of the Ministry was made by the opposition parties a pretext for exciting the public feeling already agitated, and an excuse for forming a coalition of the most discordant elements against the Government. This coalition, proposed by the Radicals, was accepted by the Republicans and Carlists. Thus the leaders of parties of such essentially different tendencies as Republicans, Radicals, and Carlists, met, organised election committees, and distributed districts in the friendliest way.

The Government on March 10 published another manifesto, lamenting the unjust charges of which it was the victim, and calling upon all patriotic citizens who loved peace and desired the security of the new institutions to come to its aid against a monstrous and criminal coalition, which, if successful, would result in conflict, confusion, and chaos. It argued that a Conservative party had been formed, of which the Government was the genuine representative, but that this would not prevent the existence of a Radical party. On the contrary, the two parties, both monarchical, contending at the polls, in the press, and in the Cortes, would form a genuine parliamentary government, and contribute to the consolidation of liberty and of the dynasty of the House of Savoy.

The Radical leaders professed to see threatened reaction in the formation of a Conservative party, and remained firm to the coalition. In their election proclamations they attempted to represent the combination between Radicals, Republicans, and Carlists as a truly national alliance against the flagitious coalition of Progressists and Unionists. The Carlist manifesto declared that "God alone can give constitutions and freedom and prosperity to the peoples who honour Him and obey His laws. Once for all, we must make an end of the intolerable tyranny of parties. The Duke of Madrid has spoken. Carlists, to-day to the polls; after, where God calls us." The Republicans urged their followers to vote for the candidates of the coalition, irrespective of their politics, as if they were the party candidate. "Every vote wasted in this critical moment is a crime against the nation. We have only one enemy

to combat, the stranger. Let this be our watchword: Spain for the Spaniards."

This was the most immoral coalition thus far seen in Spanish politics. The Radicals, who declared their allegiance to the dynasty and denounced the alliance of Sagasta with the Unionists, combined with the Republicans, whose battle-cry was "Away with the Savoyard! away with the foreigner!" The Republicans, who opposed every form of monarchy, and denounced the Government as reactionary and dangerous to liberty, joined hands with the Carlists, the representatives of absolutism and of religious fanaticism.

The Ministry left no stone unturned to defeat the coalition, and as usual was not over-scrupulous in the methods adopted. The result was as usual in Spanish elections, where energetic Government measures are always crowned with success. A good majority was returned for the Government, with a preponderance of the Unionist wing.

Using the alleged intimidation and illegal election methods of the Government as a pretext, the Carlists determined not to appear in the Cortes, but, in accordance with the orders of their chief, to have recourse to open insurrection. They had for some time been preparing for this step, in the belief that a war against a foreign King would be popular, and they alleged that the arbitrary proceedings of the Government at the polls prevented the propagation of their doctrines by legal methods.

The insurrection began as usual in the Basque Provinces and Navarre, and showed symptoms of extending to Castile, Aragon, and the Eastern prov-

inces. The opening of the Cortes on April 24 almost coincided with the Carlist rising, which was prominently referred to in the King's speech. He expressed his intention to be "inexorable in the chastisement of the constant enemies of liberty, and the persistent assailants of public order." If the ordinary measures were not sufficient to suppress the insurrection, the Government would demand such as might be necessary for the establishment on a firmer basis of the dominion of the law. In this statement and in the marked conservative character of the speech, the Radicals and Republicans pretended to discover a menace of reaction and limitation of personal liberty. In the close of his speech the King undoubtedly alluded to the Republican watchword of "Away with the foreigner!": "As I have already said on one occasion no less solemn, I shall never impose myself upon the country; but at the same time I shall never accuse myself of abandoning the post which I occupy by the will of the country, nor of forgetting the duties which the Constitution enjoins upon me, and which I shall know how to execute with the loyalty that I owe to the honour of my name."

The Carlist rebellion threatened to assume such proportions that it seemed necessary to appoint an officer of distinction to the command of forces adequate for its suppression. This undertaking was entrusted to General Serrano, with the authorisation to dispose of whatever troops might be necessary for its successful execution.

The Congress of Deputies did not organise until May 10, when the Unionist Rios Rosas was elected to the Presidency of the Chamber, in which his party

formed the strongest fraction. On the 11th the budget was presented. It showed the financial condition of the country to be deplorable. The expenditures amounted to about 600,000,000 pesetas and the receipts to less than 470,000,000. On the same day the Republican Deputy Moreno Rodriguez inquired of the President of the Council of Ministers whether it were true that, when in need of money for the election, he had as Minister of the Interior requested the transfer of two million reals to his own Department from the Colonial Office of the Department of War. The reply of Sagasta was that the Government had "disposed of the funds necessary for extraordinary expenses which have nothing to do with the election." On the 13th the same Deputy requested the documents showing the form of transfer, and on meeting with a refusal, he moved a resolution that the Chamber should order the records showing the different steps of the transfer to be brought before the House, declaring that he did not wish to enter into an investigation of the manner in which the money had been expended, but only to discover the method pursued by the Minister of the Interior to secure the sum in question. This resolution was defeated, but the opposition saw too good a pretext for attacking the President of the Council and the Government to let the matter drop, and on the 16th they moved for the appointment of a committee of investigation. This motion was also rejected. In the meantime, however, the opposition press had taken up the question, and public opinion was growing excited. The Government was charged with illegally disposing of funds belonging to the

State, and of using the money for corruption at the polls. The President of the Council attempted to face the storm by asking the Cortes to approve the expenditure of the sum as an additional appropriation for the secret service of the Department of the Interior, and offered to furnish all the papers relating to the subject provided that they were regarded as confidential. In the documents brought before the House, the cause of the expenditure was declared to be the existence of a vast conspiracy against the Government and the King. Among the papers were communications from the local police and copies of letters from personages of distinction.

The standing of the Government was so much shaken by the nature of these communications that on May 22 Sagasta informed the Cortes that the Ministry would present its resignation to the King. The reasons given were somewhat strange. "The Government," he said, "believed that it could satisfy the desires of a representative of the country without infringing the privacy of certain documents which concern lofty interests of State; but on being informed that this confidence has been misplaced, the Government withdraws these documents. Although this belief was held by the Government in good faith, it has erred, because the result has not been what it expected; and considering that governments ought not to err, and are responsible for their errors, the Government will immediately place its resignation in the hands of His Majesty."

As a consequence of this somewhat inglorious episode, fell the Ministry of Sagasta. To avoid the necessity of again dissolving the Cortes, where the different

sections of the Opposition did not together control eighty votes, it was necessary to seek for a substitute in the Conservative party. The Presidency of the Council of Ministers was therefore offered to General Serrano. On account of Serrano's absence in the North, Topete, Minister of Marine, provisionally assumed the War Department and the Presidency of the Council. The Cabinet was mainly constructed from the Unionist party, which in its turn now occupied the most influential position in the country. On the appearance of the new Ministry before the Chamber, on the 27th, the President, Topete, stated that the Government would follow the policy of its predecessors, and that the resignation of Sagasta was due to a feeling of delicacy and not to any want of confidence on the part of the Chambers or the Crown.

In the meantime all eyes were turned with interest to the operations against the Carlists, and the Government hoped that by some brilliant feat of arms General Serrano would strengthen its position in the eyes of the King and the people. The Carlists were deficient in good leaders. There was not one who could be mentioned in the same breath with Cabrera or Zumalcarregui, their great generals of the first civil war. The refusal of the former to take part in the enterprise caused a certain discouragement. Cabrera's marriage and long residence in England dampened his enthusiasm for the absolutism and fanaticism of a cause which he had once served so well. On April 27 Serrano issued a proclamation from his headquarters at Tudela ordering the Carlists to lay down their arms, and threatening the severest penalties if his orders were not obeyed. On May 1 the

Official Gazette announced that the arrival of Serrano in Navarre had entirely changed public sentiment in that province. On the 7th of the same month the Carlist forces under the personal leadership of Don Carlos himself (an unusual circumstance) were entirely defeated at Amorivieta by General Moriones. Don Carlos did not draw rein until he was safely across the French frontier. Eight hundred prisoners were taken, and in consequence of the moral effect produced more than 2000 insurgents laid down their arms.

Great was the enthusiasm in the capital, where it was believed that the insurrection would be radically suppressed. Correspondingly great was the surprise on learning that Serrano on the 24th had signed a treaty with the Carlists, granting the most liberal terms. This document, known as the Convention of Amorivieta, gave full pardon to the rebels, to the Carlist Deputies, and to all who had in any way taken part in the revolt, whether belonging to the army or emigrants. In the former case the officers and troops could return to the army with the same rank as before, and in the latter free passports would be given to enable them to return to France. There had been exactions and levying of money by the Carlists, and the settlement of this question was left to juntas, composed of the very persons who had favored the insurrection and used the funds, and formed in accordance with the *fueros* or special privileges of the Basque Provinces. This arrangement caused especial disgust among the Liberal inhabitants of these provinces, who were continually exposed to the dangers and sufferings of a Carlist

rising, who knew the indomitable character of their countrymen, and who desired a permanent peace, which they regarded as possible only by the extermination of their opponents.

The entire contents of the document were not seen in Madrid until the 28th, the day after the appointment of Serrano as President of the Council, and they caused dismay in the new Ministry. It was decided in a Cabinet meeting to postpone a decision until an explanation could be obtained from Serrano himself. At the opening of the sitting of the Congress on the 29th, Topete admitted that public opinion was reasonably alarmed on the subject, but that the Government reserved its opinion until it had received full details. He requested that debate be deferred until that time, because without entire knowledge the Government was not disposed to answer a single question on the subject.

As might have been foreseen, the opposition did not intend to lose so choice an occasion for weakening the new Cabinet, and Ruiz Zorilla insisted on a categorical answer to the question whether, if the document was authentic, if it was such as it appeared to the public eye, the Government would approve of the terms of an agreement which "no Government, no Minister, no Spaniard can accept." To this the acting President replied that the Government could not form an opinion. Martos then rose to question the Government on the same subject, but was stopped by the President of the Chamber. This caused a tumult. Ruiz Zorilla, who had just presented a resolution that the Chamber should insist on ample explanations from the Government in regard to the

agreement, now declined to discuss it, and withdrew, followed by the members of his party, remarking that the majority clearly wished him to leave; that they had now obtained what they wanted, and that they might decide the fate of the country as they wished.

On the 31st Castelar moved a vote of censure against the President for his ruling against Martos. This motion was rejected. On the same day Ruiz Zorilla communicated to the Chambers his resignation of the office of Deputy. In his speech he stated that he was not induced to take this step through irritation or disgust, but because circumstances had created a situation superior to his forces. "They who find themselves in a situation like mine, and have held the positions that I have held, due rather to circumstances than to my own merits, need faith and energy in order to sustain a situation which grows more difficult day by day. For a long time faith has been failing me, and I no longer have the energy which I have felt in supreme moments. If I continued in my present position, I should have to begin to deceive my party and my country. As I do not wish to deceive either the one or the other, and as the only thing that remains to me of my public career is the feeling that I am a man of honour, I should no longer be so if I played in politics a rôle superior to the qualities required for playing it well. These qualities are lacking in me; these qualities I no longer have."

The withdrawal of the Radical leader did not effect a cessation of the hostilities against the Convention of Amorivieta. At the sitting of May 30 General Serrano, who had returned to Madrid, gave a history

of his operations against the Carlists, and defended the convention on the ground that it avoided a long civil war, and that the clause regarding the reinstatement of officers, which excited so much condemnation, was of no importance, because there had been no deserters among the officers of the army. In his opinion the convention amounted to nothing more than a general amnesty. His conduct received a vote of approval from the Conservative majority, after rude attacks from the Radicals and Republicans, who made the point that the commander-in-chief had outstripped his authority; for, by the Constitution, the granting of a general amnesty rested with the Cortes. The Republican Deputy Abarzuza took advantage of the occasion to make a personal attack upon the King, and alluded to his holding aloof from the campaign against the Carlists.

The approval of the Chamber did not alter the fact that the agreement was unpopular in the country and in the army, and that the contrast between its provisions and the "inexorable" policy heralded in the King's speech made the King seem ridiculous. It left the embers of Carlism in the North ready to burst into flame at any moment, while in Catalonia the insurgents had not laid down their arms, nor did they show any disposition to do so.

On the same day that the Convention of Amorieta received the approval of the Chamber, Serrano took the oath as President of the Council and Minister of War. In control of the army, with a docile majority behind him in the Cortes; with a Cabinet of his friends, and with the assured support of Sagasta and his followers, he seemed to have inherited the

influence and position of Prim. In the debate on the Address in reply to the King's speech, which did not begin until May 20, Castelar made a violent attack upon the reactionary policy of the Government, and pointed to the significant effacement of the men who had contributed to the election of Amadeo. "When I search," said the speaker, "for those who on a certain celebrated night voted with the most enthusiasm and the most decision for the dynasty, I find some of them banished by electoral manoeuvres, some in the retirement of sorrow and silence, most of them con-founded here with me upon the benches of the opposition. When I turn my eyes upon those who voted against the dynasty or who did not vote at all, I see at the head of the Government General Serrano, who sent emissaries to all of the candidates; at the head of the Navy Department, Señor Topete, who voted for the Duke of Montpensier; at the head of the Treasury, Señor Elduayen, who voted for Don Alfonso or who voted in blank; at the head of the Committee on the Address, Señor Romero Ortíz, who voted for the Duke of Montpensier. When I see this, I cannot help making a reflection which you will often find in our great poets, and which may be uttered in a free parliament: What abysses are there in the bosom of palaces, and what ingratitude in the heart of kings!" This quotation from Castelar's speech gives an excellent example of the disposition to regard Amadeo as a partisan, as under special obligation to the party which elected him,—a view which was very popular with the Radicals, and, upheld, as it was, by the Republicans, drew charges of ingratitude upon the King whenever he

turned toward the Conservatives, or whenever, even in court ceremonies or in his private and personal relations, he did not call upon the Radicals to play the leading parts.

This attack on the Ministry in the Chamber, and the information received as to intended disturbance on the part of the Radicals, determined the Government to bring forward a bill for the suspension of the guaranties embodied in Article 1 of the Constitution. Serrano also felt his own position to be so strong with the army, in the Cortes, and, as he believed, at court, that he regarded the moment as seasonable for bringing the September Revolution to a sort of dictatorship, — an issue which had always been favoured by the Unionist party. But for the introduction of such a bill, the approval of the King was necessary, and Serrano had not counted upon the scruples of Amadeo. A Spanish statesman of the career and antecedents of the Duke de la Torre is not disturbed by any constitutional obstructions which may stand in the way of a given policy. The King, on the contrary, was determined to remain steadfast to his oath and to the Constitution, and refused emphatically to give his approval to the measure. Nothing was left for the Cabinet but to resign. The resignation was accepted on June 11, and Serrano retired from the Presidency after having occupied his post for not more than a week.

The King then turned to the Radicals, and the Presidency of the Council was offered to Ruiz Zorilla, who was living in retirement on his estate at Tablada. General Cordova, Minister of War, acted provisionally as chief of the Government, while a

deputation of friends went in search of Ruiz Zorilla. The Radical leader consented after much persuasion to return to public life, and made a triumphant entry into the capital, where he was received with the acclamations due to a Cincinnatus. The Cortes suspended its sittings on June 14, and two weeks later the decree of dissolution was published. The second Cortes of the reign thus came to a premature end without even having voted the Address in answer to the King's speech. Thus in eighteen months two Cortes had been suspended and then dissolved, and five different Cabinets had appeared and disappeared. The members of the majority in order to prevent the dissolution offered their co-operation to the new Government for the settlement of the budget, and other pending legislation. This offer was refused, and the Majority published a protest against the dissolution, declaring that the nation could now behold "a spectacle new in its history of an opposition which offers all the terms of accommodation dictated by prudence, and a Government which rushes into lawless adventure." To this Ruiz Zorilla replied that the Cortes had perished in consequence of the arbitrary and violent proceedings of his predecessors; that it was sufficient under the Constitution that there should be four months of sessions during the year; and that dissolution was necessary in order to restore to the Cortes its authority and purity.


The fall of the Conservative Ministry was received with exultation by the Republicans. They knew that, just as the Progressist Sagasta when in power was dependent for support upon the Unionists, the Progressist Ruiz Zorilla could not govern without their

aid. He had been dependent upon them in 1871, and he would now be dependent upon them again. But the times had changed since 1871. If, argued the Republicans, the Conservatives cannot govern, and the Radicals can exist only by our aid, what prevents us from overthrowing the Monarchy? The more violent members of the party were therefore disposed to regard the advent of the Radicals to power as a misfortune, if it resulted in introducing into the Republican party a more benevolent attitude towards the Government and the dynasty. To counteract this impression, and to show their belief that the Radicals would not long be able to sustain the tottering Monarchy, the leading Republican Deputies published a manifesto in which they declared that the sudden change in the Government had not modified their principles or changed their line of conduct. They warned their followers against any appeal to force. "There is no one," concluded the document, "who does not foresee the early advent of the Republic. Let us not conspire against ourselves." The outlook for Ruiz Zorilla's government was therefore neither brilliant nor tranquil, and the prospect of help from his old allies was not encouraging. These considerations may have had some connection with his disinclination to leave the local attractions of Tablada.

On June 27 Ruiz Zorilla published a circular to the provincial governors which gave the details of the policy he intended to pursue. Inasmuch as liberty was the very foundation of the dynasty, he did not regard as expedient the application of extraordinary measures, even to the Carlists. Trial by jury was to

be established; reforms in Cuba were to be postponed until after the suppression of the insurrection in that island; the expediency of a conversion of the debt would be considered, provided that the consent of the bond-holders could be obtained; the right of association should be fixed in accordance with the limitations of the Constitution of 1869. One of the most important of the details was his promise to introduce a bill for the re-organisation of the army and navy on the basis of a suppression of the conscription,—a popular subject for an appeal to the constituencies, and a sure means for attracting votes. Referring to his previous government of 1871, he said: “To the calm and serenity which then prevailed have succeeded discontent and agitation. Our credit is shaken, parties are excited, and the public peace is disturbed. All these causes have produced natural and fatal consequences in the administration, the dis-organisation of which requires a prompt and effective remedy.” The elections were fixed for August 24, and the new Cortes was convoked for September 15.

Public attention had in the meantime been attracted by the announcement of a reconciliation between the Duke of Montpensier and Queen Isabella. This alliance, which had been arranged at Cannes in the preceding January, was now officially proclaimed in a published letter from the Duke to the Marquis of Campo Sagrado, in which he made the following declaration: “Although not indifferent, I am determined to remain aloof from every contest. If, however, as a result of the conflicts which the future may bring forth, of the irresistible force of events, or of the means which the existing laws authorise, Spain



should again find herself called upon to dispose of her destinies, the experience of the last years and the careful observation of the present situation, make me believe that the traditional, constitutional, and hereditary monarchy symbolised in the young Prince Alfonso, to-day its sole legitimate representative, is the only government that can offer to our harassed country a broad and noble foundation for erecting the edifice of great and modern institutions. It is the only government that can give assurance of liberty — true liberty, which is the guaranty of all progress — and order, which is the primary condition to all liberty." About the same time there appeared a manifesto signed by two hundred and thirty Generals, Senators, Deputies, and Grandees, declaring Alfonso to be the legitimate heir to the throne; and that, "if the catastrophe which we foresee shall occur before this Prince has attained the age suitable for exercising by himself the supreme authority of the State, the regency of his august uncle, the Duke of Montpensier, will be an effective guaranty of good government and of the most profound respect for the constitutional guaranties." The genuine and original Alfonsists published a reply to this manifesto, in which they refused to accept the proposition of the Regency, and expressed their intention of defending by all legal means the rights of Alfonso "against the mistaken zeal of his friends as well as the opposition of his adversaries." Although there was thus shown some dissension between the old and new supporters of Alfonso, yet the open discussion of his candidacy by a number of the very conservative class whom the King regarded as the mainstay of his monarchy, must

have filled the King's mind with gloomy forebodings, and impressed the impartial observer with the belief that the restoration of the Bourbons would be the final solution.

The interval between the dissolution of the Cortes and the elections was dedicated by the different parties to manifestoes and mutual recriminations. The advanced wing of the Republicans held a turbulent meeting on June 30, in which the proposition was presented that the party should not take part in the election, and that no support should be given to the Radical Ministry. The moderate leaders composing the Central Committee of the party were bitterly denounced. There seemed to be a large Socialistic element present at this meeting. The moderate Republicans, in accordance with their general policy, were determined to remain within the limits of strict legality. In a meeting on July 5, the Conservatives debated the question of abstention from the polls, but finally decided to take part in the election. Feeling ran high, not only against the Government, but between the different factions of the opposition. In the Conservative ranks a large number were in favor of abstention; day by day the moderate Republicans found more difficult the task of restraining the irreconcilables, who, not yet having learned the peculiar advantages of dynamite, were in favor of petroleum and barricades. In the attacks in the press, not even the private life of the King was spared, and the democratic manners which were supposed to be in harmony with the new régime were made the subject of special criticism and ridicule.

The sultriness of the political atmosphere was

again to result in an attempt at political assassination. On July 18 the King and Queen spent the evening in the garden of the Buen Retiro. On attempting to return to the Palace about midnight, the royal carriage had scarcely entered the Calle Arenal when a volley of five or six shots was fired from one of the side streets. The King and his adjutant Burgos sprang up and covered the Queen with their bodies. Owing probably to the quick movement of the carriage, no one was hurt, and the coachman drove at full speed to the Palace, where one of the horses fell and was found to be severely wounded. The authorities had, some hours before, received warning of the intended crime, and had informed the King, but he had attached but little importance to the communication and declined to change his plans for the evening. The police who had been stationed in the Calle Arenal came to a hand-to-hand conflict with the assassins, killing one and wounding several. The Ministry immediately assembled at the Palace, where the King calmly gave the details; the tranquillity of the Queen excited general admiration.

The event caused a temporary reaction among the people, who could not refrain from admiring the King's courage or from remembering the Queen's goodness. The political parties all protested against the attempt. Some accused the Republicans, some the Conservatives, while others went so far as to declare that it was planned by the Government in order to make the King throw himself into the arms of the Radicals as his sole salvation. If this were not the case, it was argued, better precaution would have been taken, and at least the royal carriage would not

have been allowed to return to the Palace by its usual route. Of the assassin shot by the police, neither the antecedents nor the name was discovered. The three captured, one of whom was condemned to death, were found at the trial to be Republicans. That the carriage did not return by a different route was no doubt due to the insistence of the King himself.

Remembering the success of the King's journey to the Eastern provinces, the hot-bed of Republicanism, Ruiz Zorilla had planned another royal journey in the North, the stronghold of Carlism. The King did not allow the attempt upon his life to delay his departure, and left Madrid on July 20. The result of this journey was not remarkably successful. The enthusiasm was mostly official and perfunctory, and brought out rather too clearly the Radical claim to a certain proprietary interest in the Monarch. It was concluded on August 24, the day of the election of Deputies and Senators.

In a genuine parliamentary government it is the function of the people to decide who is to be the government; in Spain, the converse of this is true, and the government decides what is to be the result of the elections. The present elections were an admirable example of this system of universal suffrage. The Radicals numbered more than two hundred. The large Conservative majority of the previous Parliaments was transformed into as large a Radical majority. In less than five months the sovereignty of the people, under the influence of certain peculiar methods of appeal, had given two diametrically opposite judgments. The victory of Ruiz Zorilla was,

however, not as significant as that of Sagasta. The latter had contended against the vigorous and combined efforts of all the factions of the opposition. Now there was no coalition, and abstentions from the polls were much more numerous than at the former election. But few of the partisans of Sagasta presented themselves for re-election, nor did the Unionists take much interest in the conflict. It was difficult, therefore, to regard a Chamber as the genuine representative of the people, when leaders like Sagasta, Serrano, Topete, Rios Rosas, and Canovas del Castillo were conspicuously absent. Next to Ruiz Zorilla and his friends, the triumph was with the Republicans, who returned more than eighty members. The inadequate representation of the Conservative element gave a pretext to the Alfonsist press to appeal to the dynastic members of the Liberal Union to transfer their allegiance to the banner of Alfonso. The virtual retirement of the Conservative opposition must have impressed the King with the hopelessness of the rôle of mediator between Spanish political parties, and the dissatisfaction of the party which did not hold the reins of power must have made him regret that no system of government had yet been invented where all the parties might be in power at the same time.

The Cortes met on September 15. The King's speech alluded to the fact that he derived his right to the throne from his election by the Constituent Cortes. As on former occasions, he spoke regretfully of the failure to re-establish ancient relations with the Holy See; but with the assurance of personal veneration for the Pontiff and of respect for his spiritual power, was also expressed "the firm

determination to live in harmony with the facts and ideas of my time, and to maintain the decrees established by the sovereign will of the Spanish people." The usual promises were made as to financial reforms.

The Congress did not devote as much time as usual to disputed election cases, but was organised on the 26th, with the election of Rivero as President. The latter in his speech predicted a long lease of life for the new Cortes, and proclaimed the triumph of the Radicals as that of the only party which could consummate the work of the Revolution of September, introduce the reforms and assure the liberties won by it. He attributed the absence of eminent Conservatives to this patriotic comprehension of the fact that they were not wanted. Later a Conservative party would be necessary; at the present time, it would be simply an inconvenience, — a view of the case not appreciated by the few members of that party who had seats in the Chamber.

In the debate on the Address the opposition did not refrain from open attack on the dynasty. The Alfonsist Jove y Hevia contended that there was no possible legitimacy to the rule of Amadeo, and stated that he would not be afraid of the Republic, if behind the great leaders of the party like Pi y Margall, Figueras, Orense, and Castelar, he did not see Navarrete and Garrido, and after these Paul y Angulo, a man of the type of Robespierre. "There is one thing in which they have completely succeeded," said Esteban Collantes, of the same party; "in which they have had a fabulous success. The sole revolutionary principle that they have practised is to have the smallest quantity of King possible. It is impossible to

have a smaller quantity of King than they now have, and the result is that from this King to the Republic the steps are numbered. Do you desire this Republic? Do you desire a Republic similar to that of France? There is no reason for such efforts, because in Spain we have more of a Republic with this Monarchy than the French people with their Republic. In Spain we have the smallest possible amount of King, and in France the smallest possible amount of Republic, which is about the same thing. I believe that what is needed by my country is tradition, legitimacy, and constitutional government, and for this reason I am a partisan of Alfonso XII."

The Republican Garrido moved an amendment to the Address calling upon the King to commit an act of abnegation; and Salmeron, his colleague, declared that the Constitution of 1869 was a compromise between Democrats and Monarchists. "You have forgotten," said he, "that you cannot put new wine into old casks; and the separation of the two elements, the Democrats and Monarchists, is the natural result of this unnatural alliance." The attitude of the different parties showed that the dynasty was fast becoming identified with Ruiz Zorilla, and that the latter could depend for aid only upon his own immediate followers.

In accordance with its assurances, the Government presented a bill for the reorganisation of the army and the abolition of the conscription, but at the same time presented another bill providing for a levy of forty thousand men. The latter bill drew a violent attack from the Republicans, who accused the Gov-

ernment of breaking its solemn pledges, and described the bill as a "bloody jest." The Government alleged in its defence that this was not a new conscription; that only men were summoned who were already destined for service by lot; that the army must be reinforced, and that it was impossible, in view of the disturbed state of the country, to wait for the completion of the organisation proposed. To this the Republicans answered that this proviso should have been made, and that the voters should not have been deluded into the belief in the final abolition of the conscription.

The negotiations of the Government with the Bank of France to raise means for the extinction of the deficit and for the establishment of an Hypothecary Bank excited great alarm in the Chamber. The Republicans went so far as to declare that if they came into power they would not regard these contracts or concessions. The two bills for these purposes were passed, but the Republicans used them as arguments to show how little the Radicals deserved any benevolence or confidence from the Republican party, and that conspiracy and insurrection were the means authorised by circumstances for the realisation of their principles.

On October 6 there were demonstrations in Madrid against a tax on show windows and awnings levied by the municipality. Only a few days after the suppression of this disturbance, news came of an insurrection in the arsenal at Ferrol, where the workmen, guards, and marines raised the banner of the Republic. This movement, which lasted from October 10 to October 20, might, under good leadership, have

been serious, for the insurgents disposed of arms, supplies, and ammunition, as well as of a number of launches and several vessels; but seconded neither by the town, nor the Province of Ferrol, nor by any of the troops, they were shut up in the arsenal. A number attempted to escape on the 17th, and in this way several lost their lives. In all, about one thousand of the insurgents fell into the hands of the Government. The Republican minority in the Chamber through Pi y Margall expressed their surprise at the movement, and declared that the insurrection was no longer a right but a crime, when, as was the case, they had universal suffrage and a free press and tribune. This declaration, which was telegraphed over the country by the Government, produced so much irritation in the Republican party and its press that the author took occasion a few days later to weaken the effect of his speech by charging the Government with a distortion of his words. The result was, however, a deep split in the Republican party, between the directors, who were in favour of peaceful methods, and the men of action, who seemed determined to prove their dislike of the Radical Government and a contempt for their own directory.

Republican risings were threatened both in the North and in the South, which could only be suppressed by the proclamation of martial law and the arrival of Government troops. On November 23 and on December 12 there were new disorders in Madrid. Of much greater gravity, however, were the Carlist risings. Newly collected bands threatened the city of Gerona; a bold raid was made upon Burgos, where the Carlists attacked the civil guard in their barracks.

set fire to the building, threw open the prisons, and recruited their bands from the liberated criminals. In November the railway trains between Madrid and Saragossa could travel only with great precautions, and were in imminent danger of attack. Catalonia by the beginning of winter was almost entirely in the hands of the Carlists, who levied blackmail, plundered, and practised the abnormal barbarity which had always been the characteristic of their gloomy fanaticism. The condition of Catalonia was pathetically described in the House on November 21 by Balaguer, who threw the responsibility upon the Government. Ruiz Zorilla in his reply declared that he could not suppress the constitutional guaranties, and that his principles forbade him to use extraordinary measures.

The Conservatives saw this disorder with considerable satisfaction, and claimed that they not only proved the former Government to have been right in demanding the suppression of constitutional guaranties, but also that the Radical policy was favourable to disorder. On December 14, in consequence of what they regarded as an unfair ruling of the President of the Chamber, the members of this party withdrew in a body from the House and refused to take any further part in the deliberations. After their withdrawal they found a favourable field outside for exciting earnest opposition to the Government on account of its colonial policy. Ruiz Zorilla was determined to deal with the question of slavery in the Antilles. He did not feel capable of attacking it in Cuba, where the slaves were numerous and the country in a state of insurrection. He proposed to

the Cabinet the advisability of freeing the slaves in Porto Rico, where they did not number more than thirty thousand. The question as to whether the liberation should be immediate or gradual caused a Ministerial crisis and the retirement from the Cabinet of two Ministers who were in favour of the latter plan, while the remainder supported immediate emancipation. The Government bill provided for the entire suppression of slavery in the island of Porto Rico within four months after the publication of the law, and for the indemnification of the owners. Against the bill the Conservatives made a veritable crusade. They united with the mercantile clubs of the principal cities for the foundation of an anti-reform league, which, in its proclamation to the country, identified the emancipation of the slaves with the loss of the Antilles. One hundred and eighty-three nobles of Castile and grandees of Spain adhered to this movement, and in a manifesto of December 22 Don Carlos declared that he now had all the more reason for attacking the Radical Government, because that Government represented an attack on the integrity of the country. The position of the opponents of the bill was strengthened by the impression which prevailed in many quarters that the policy of the Government was influenced by the attitude of the Government of the United States on the subject, and by the message of President Grant holding slavery to be responsible for the continuation of the insurrection in Cuba.

The result of the Radical policy had therefore been to make more and more irreparable the rupture between Amadeo and the Conservatives, and to

identify the King entirely with the party in power. The retirement of the Conservatives from the Chamber destroyed the only shadow of a dynastic opposition that existed in that body. The dissatisfaction of the Conservatives also extended to the private relations of their leaders to the King. On January 6 a large banquet was given at the Palace. Serrano, Rios Rosas, Sagasta, and all the prominent leaders of the Conservatives sent excuses. Many at the same time communicated the renunciation of their titles and decorations.

The beginning of the third year of Amadeo's reign found him entirely unsupported except by the Radicals, and sure of their support only so long as they remained in power. A part of the Liberal Union had openly declared for Alfonso. The other part, with the Progressist followers of Sagasta, formed the Conservative, or so-called Constitutional, party. These the King had deeply wounded by leaving them at the very time when they had overcome the difficulties of the situation, and found themselves in a position to give effect to their reactionary policy. The only method to assure their support was by restoring them to power; but when the King inclined to this step he remembered the uncertainty of the Radicals in opposition, and their leaning toward the Republicans, who in their turn would no longer be restrained to constitutional methods after the fall of the Radical Government. The insurrection at Ferrol and the movement against the conscription showed the dangerous attitude of the irreconcilable wing of the Republican party. The revival of the war in the North, the intrigues in

Catalonia, and new outbreaks in Valencia and the two Castiles showed that no peace was to be expected from the partisans of Don Carlos. The strained relations with Serrano and the other Conservative leaders, to whom from the beginning of the reign he had in his private relations shown a marked inclination, as well as the familiarity of the Radicals and their disposition to claim a proprietary interest in him as a party chief, filled him with disgust. Bound hand and foot to the Radicals, unable to form a government from other elements without producing a catastrophe which would make his position untenable, it was only necessary that some question should arise in which his conscience would force him into a disagreement with his Ministers. Such an issue was not slow in arising, and since it brought an end to the dynasty of Savoy in Spain, it will be expedient to give its antecedents in detail.

The insurrection in the barracks of San Gil at Madrid on the morning of June 22, 1866, resulted in the killing of a number of the officers of the artillery by the sergeants. The leader of the movement, Captain Baltasar Hidalgo, had always been unjustly regarded by the officers of this branch of the service as directly responsible for these assassinations. This feeling against Hidalgo was shown as soon after the Revolution as December, 1868, when he had been appointed Colonel of the regiment of infantry quartered at Tarragona, and when the officers of the artillery of the same post invited all officers residing in this city except Hidalgo, to the festival of their patron Santa Barbara. At that time General Prim, in order to avoid further diffi-

culties, ordered Colonel Hidalgo to Cuba. Since that date Hidalgo had continued to advance in the service by leaps, and in November, 1872, having attained the rank of General and Field Marshal, he was appointed to the temporary command of the Basque Provinces. On his arrival at Victoria all the officers, as was customary, presented themselves except those of the artillery. On inquiring into the reason for their absence, it was found that their commanding officer had gone to Madrid without asking for his passport. The other officers pretended to be ill. Hidalgo ordered that an investigation be made into the conduct of the commander, and that the sick officers should be transferred to the hospital. As there was not room in the hospital for all of them, Hidalgo telegraphed to the Minister of War requesting that he be allowed to send them under arrest to the Castle of Mota at San Sebastian. This request was refused by the Minister, General Cordova, who suggested that they be placed under arrest in their own houses. Hidalgo then telegraphed his resignation, not only as captain-general of the Basque Provinces, but also as field marshal.

All these facts came out in the discussion in the Congress, where unfortunate publicity was given to the matter by an interpellation of the Republican Deputy Gonzalez on November 16. The case was serious, as the whole artillery corps of the Spanish army was disposed to make common cause with their companions of Victoria. To avoid this the Minister of War in his speech recommended that the conduct of Hidalgo on June 22, 1866, be submitted to a court of honour. The President of the Council of

Ministers took up the cause of Hidalgo, and declared that he would not allow himself to be imposed upon or intimidated by any branch of the service. A resolution was presented to the effect that the Congress would see with pleasure an early and satisfactory settlement of the question. This gave rise to an extended debate in which it was clearly demonstrated that the temper of the Chamber was with the President of the Council and against the artillery. In this discussion the Republican Navarrete took occasion to praise the right of revolution, and the Radical Vidart made military obedience to superior orders dependent upon the reasonableness of the command.

A political aspect was given to the question by the fact that the artillery officers came largely from the aristocracy, and that they were not suspected of a superabundant sympathy with the present régime, but were supposed to look favourably upon a Bourbon restoration. For the moment, however, the matter was dropped, although it was clearly seen that it contained the seeds of a serious conflict.

The Government seemed determined to provoke this conflict, when, in January, it sent Hidalgo to take command of the operations against the Carlists in the Province of Tarragona. The commanders and officers of the artillery without exception sent in their resignations. The Minister of War, General Cordova, attempted to come to an arrangement, but the artillery officers refused to withdraw their resignations. On February 7 the question was again brought before the Congress, as on the previous occasion, by an interpellation of the same Republican Deputy,

Gonzalez. The speaker complained that a conflict had been excited by the artillery corps when engaged in a campaign against Don Carlos, and that their conduct was equivalent to a veto on the decisions of the Government. He desired to know whether the Government was ready to act with energy and dispose of the question once for all. In that case they could count not only upon his vote and that of the other Republicans, but also upon the support of all those interested in the cause of justice and the triumph of liberty over its enemies. In reply to this speech, which was received with great applause by both the Radical majority and the Republican minority, Ruiz Zorilla defended the Ministry from the charge of weakness, declared that the Government would be degraded if it did not accept the resignations, and attempted to explain the action of the officers as a phase of the general campaign on the part of the Conservatives since the introduction of the Emancipation Bill. "From that moment the attacks and calumnies of the press have increased. The faction of Don Carlos augments in number and resources; the hatred against the Government becomes more embittered. It is precisely at this time that the question with the artillery comes again to the front, and assumes alarming proportions." The Minister of War spoke even more energetically. The resignations, he declared, would be accepted; the service would be reorganised and the officers retiring would be replaced by others. "I hope," he continued, "that with the disappearance from the artillery corps of their special privileges, we shall form a service as good as the present, identified with our institutions

and above suspicion in the eyes of the nation and its representatives." These words were received with enthusiastic applause, and members arose from their seats to congratulate the speaker. A resolution to the effect that the House had heard with satisfaction the words of the President of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of War, was passed by a vote of 191 to 2.

The issue was clear. The Government had declared its determination to pursue a certain policy, and the Congress of Deputies had approved of the determination. This declaration was made with no apparent consideration of the feeling or opinion of the chief of the State. The artillery knew what to expect. The action of the Government made retreat impossible. The question could not be solved by a change of Ministry. The King by refusing to accept the decision of the Ministry would come into conflict with his own counsellors, backed by the Republicans, — a veritable combat between King and Parliament. By acceding, he would not only lose his self-respect by his tolerance of public intimidation on the part of his Ministers, but he would also break the last slender tie which bound him to the Conservative elements of the country.

Amadeo hesitated as to what he should do. His personal inclinations were favourable to the artillery and to a Conservative government; but he dreaded a reactionary policy and its possible bloody results. After negotiations with the Conservative leaders, who promised to support him against the Radicals by force if necessary, he suddenly drew back before the overwhelming vote of the Cortes in favour of the

Government, and signed the bill for the reorganisation of the artillery; but he determined that this should be his last official act.

On February 9 there were rumours that the King had expressed his determination to abdicate. In the sitting of the Cortes on the 10th the Blue Bench of the Government was vacant until the Republican Figueras appealed to the President of the Chamber to summon the counsellors of the Crown, who were absent from their posts at a time when the institutions of the country were known to be passing through a crisis. The Ministers then appeared, and the President of the Council, in accordance with the conclusions reached in the Cabinet meeting of the night before, admitted that the King had informed him of his intention to abdicate, and requested that the session be postponed. This was opposed by the Republicans, who feared that the King might change his mind, and who alleged that the country was in grave danger from the Conservatives. They proposed that the Congress should remain in permanent session, and it was finally decided that the House should be represented by the President, Secretaries, and a Committee appointed by the President. These remained until three o'clock the next afternoon, February 11, when the regular sitting was resumed and the following communication read:—

“ To the Congress : Great was the favour conferred upon me by the Spanish nation by my election to the throne — an honour which I appreciate the more because it was offered to me surrounded by the difficulties and dangers of the attempt to govern a country so profoundly disturbed. Inspired, however, by the

characteristic determination of my race, which seeks rather than avoids danger; resolved to be prompted solely by the good of the country and to place myself above all parties; determined religiously to fulfil the oath which I have taken before the Constituent Cortes, and ready to make every sacrifice to give to this valiant people the peace which it needs and the grandeur which is due alike to its glorious history and to the virtue and constancy of its sons, I believed that the limited experience of my life in the art of ruling would be remedied by the loyalty of my character; and that for exorcising the perils and conquering the difficulties which were not hidden from my sight, I should find powerful aid in the sympathies of all those Spaniards who loved their country, and desired to put an end to the bloody and sterile contests which for so long a time have rent the vitals of the nation.

“ I recognise now that my enthusiasm deceived me. For two long years I have worn the crown of Spain, and Spain lives in a constant struggle, and sees day by day growing more distant the era of peace and prosperity to which I so ardently aspired.

“ If the enemies of her fortunes were foreigners, then would I be the first to combat them at the head of her valiant and long-suffering soldiers; but all those who, with the sword and with the pen or by speech, aggravate and perpetuate the evils of the nation, are Spaniards; all invoke the sweet name of country, all engage in agitation and conflicts for her good; and, amid the crash of the combat, amid the confused, contradictory, and deafening clamour of parties, amid so many and such opposed manifesta-

tions of public opinion, it is impossible to conjecture which is the true, and more impossible yet to find a remedy for evils of such magnitude. Within the law I have eagerly sought for it and I cannot find it, and he who has sworn to observe the law cannot seek a remedy beyond the law.

“No one will impute my decision to failure of courage. There is no danger that could induce me to resign the crown if I thought that my retaining it would be for the good of the Spaniards. Nor was any impression made upon my spirit by the danger to which the life of my august spouse was exposed, who in this solemn moment expresses the eager desire that the authors of the attempt may be pardoned. I have to-day the strongest conviction that my efforts will be fruitless and my purposes incapable of realisation.

“These, gentlemen of the House of Deputies, are the reasons which induce me to restore to the nation, and to you, in its name, the crown which the vote of the nation conferred upon me ; and I make this renunciation in behalf of myself, my children, and my successors. Be assured that in renouncing the crown I do not renounce my love for this Spain, as noble as unfortunate ; and that I carry with me only one regret, and that is that I have not been able to secure for her all the good which my loyal heart so earnestly desired. AMADEO.

“Palace of Madrid, February 11, 1873.”

As soon as this renunciation was received, a message was sent from the House of Deputies to the Senate, inviting the latter body to unite in deliberat-

ing upon "the good of the country, the preservation of order, and the definite triumph of liberty." The Senate in response to this invitation entered the House of Deputies, preceded by the mace-bearers. The Senators took their seats among the Deputies, with the President of the Senate on the right of the President of the House. The resignation of Amadeo was now read to both Houses, and was unanimously accepted.

A committee was then appointed to prepare an answer to the King's message. This document was written by Castelar for the purpose, as he stated, "of expressing the sentiments of the immense majority of this Chamber." In it the Cortes declined to take the responsibility of the conflict, but assured the King that he had been the most faithful guardian of the oaths he had taken on accepting the Spanish crown, — "a glorious merit in this era of ambitions and dictatorships." The knowledge of the King's inflexible character prevented the Cortes from attempting to induce him to desist from his purpose, and resulted in a decision to inform him that the Cortes had "assumed the supreme power and the sovereignty of the nation." The address closed, somewhat confidently, as follows: "When the dangers have been exorcised, when obstacles have been vanquished, when we have traversed the difficulties which accompany every period of transition and crisis, the Spanish people, which, during your Majesty's stay upon their noble soil, will offer every mark of respect, of loyalty, and of consideration due to your Majesty, to the merits of your noble spouse and of your innocent children, though they will not be able to offer you a crown in the

identified with one party or another, and in attempting to avoid siding with either succeeded in irritating all, — the Conservatives, because he had dissolved the Chamber in which they had a large majority, and the Radicals, because he had attempted to govern without their aid.

The Constitution of 1869 was incompatible with the existence of any monarchy, and gave a foothold for the attacks of all its adversaries. It made the monarchy the government of the country by Article 33; but this article, like any other, could, in accordance with Article 110, be amended by a mere vote of the Cortes, which always hung as a continued menace over the monarchy, and which would shape itself into action whenever there happened to be an anti-dynastic majority in the Chamber.

With an impossible system of parties and an impracticable Constitution, the artillery question placed the King in a position where, in the words of a Spanish writer,¹ he must choose among three courses, — either to be eternally Radical, to fight, or to abdicate. He was already weary of the tutelage and patronage of the Radicals, and he had repeatedly declared his intention never to impose himself upon the nation. The third was the only resource left, and it may be affirmed that regret at the loss of his crown was not the keenest sentiment in the mind of the Duke of Aosta when he turned his back forever upon the country which was still to be harassed by “political tempests, — the most furious and the most horrible of all tempests.”

¹ Señor Juan Valera. See *L'Espagne Politique*, by Victor Cherbuliez.

CHAPTER V
THE REPUBLICAN DICTATORSHIPS
AND THE COUP D'ÉTAT

(February 11, 1873 — January 3, 1874)

THE message to the King completed and the committee chosen for its delivery, Pi y Margall brought before the assembly of the Senate and House the following resolutions: "The National Assembly resumes all powers, and declares the Republic to be the form of government of the nation. An Executive shall be elected by the direct vote of the Assembly, and its members shall be removable by and responsible to the Cortes." Ruiz Zorilla declared that the members of the late Government were now but simple Deputies; that the country was without a government, and that some provision should immediately be made for meeting the emergency. This speech brought out an autocratic display of temper on the part of the President of the Chamber, Rivero, who commanded the members of the late Government to return to the Blue Bench,—an order which they unanimously refused to obey, and which drew forth from Martos, the late Minister of Foreign Affairs, the remark that the forms of tyranny had begun at the very moment the Monarchy ended. After a sort of funeral oration over the Democratic Monarchy from Ruiz Zorilla, who expressed his determination to retire from public life, and formal protests from a few Conservatives who denied the authority of the two Houses united or separately to discuss a resolution

involving a change of government on the ground that it was in direct opposition to the Constitution, the Republic was voted by 258 votes to 32, and the following elected as members of the new Government: Figueras, President; Castelar, Minister of State; Pi y Margall, of the Interior; Nicolas Salmeron, of the Department of Justice; Echegaray, of the Treasury; Cordova, of War; Beranger, of the Navy; Becerra, of Public Works; Francisco Salmeron, of the Colonies. The first four were Republicans and the rest Radicals. Cristino Martos was elected President of the Assembly against Rivero, who received only 20 votes.

Castelar's circular to the Spanish representatives abroad stated that the Republic was the necessary result of the Revolution of September, and that King Amadeo by his resignation had effected a noble and patriotic solution to a pending conflict, and had enabled the Cortes to give expression to the claims of public opinion by the establishment of the form of government desired by the nation. The change was, however, regarded with suspicion by the foreign powers, and the new Republic was recognised only by Switzerland and the United States, the latter country merely pursuing its usual policy of entering into official relations with any de facto government. The recognition of the Republic by the United States caused great satisfaction. The speech of General Sickles, the American Minister, was made the subject of a special report to the Cortes by Castelar, with an enthusiastic outburst. "This act," said the Minister of Foreign Affairs, "is an act of a truly religious character, and we ought to lift our minds and hearts

to heaven to ask the God of Columbus and of Washington to bless our labour." "Now, more than ever," said President Figueras, "may we regard as dissipated the shadows and fears for the integrity of our territory which originated in a feeling of patriotism." This enthusiasm was somewhat chilled by the fact that the vote of congratulation to the Spaniards on account of the establishment of the Republic proposed in the House of Representatives of the United States was buried in the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The French Republic, which at first had seemed disposed to recognition, on finding that a ministerial crisis had occurred in the first week of the existence of the new Government, determined to await the meeting of the Constitutional Convention.

The hesitation of the European powers and their incredulity concerning the stability of the Republic was justified by the dissensions which began to appear between the Republicans and Radicals, and in the ranks of the Republicans themselves. A wide difference existed between conservative Republicans of the type of Castelar, and the irreconcilables who were in a fever of impatience to carry out their theories of government. One of the latter, Gonzalez Cherma, as early as February 19 inquired of the President whether the Government was ready to propose the reforms which the country expected. Figueras replied that these questions were to be resolved by the Constituent Cortes, and until the meeting of that body the Constitution of 1869 — except the provision making the Monarchy the form of government — must continue to be in force. The Republicans did not even take the trouble to conceal their desire

to eliminate the Radicals from any participation in the government, and to dissolve the Assembly in order to get rid of the large Radical majority. This excited alarm and irritation among the Radicals, whose experience of the efficiency of the Spanish system of election made them feel grave doubts as to their chances of re-election. The Republicans asserted that the Assembly was lacking in authority to accomplish anything, and that the uniting of the two Chambers into one Assembly infringed a number of articles of the existing Constitution.

The intrigues of the advanced section of the Republican party began to excite uneasiness in the capital. The citizens of Madrid, who distrusted the power of the Government to prevent disorder, began to take measures for their own security; and the Government regarded it as necessary to occupy the neighbourhood of the House of Deputies with civil guards. The Volunteers of the Republic, who favoured the views of the Republicans and were opposed to the Radicals, decided to bring the question to a settlement by force. On February 24 they occupied the city in such numbers that the regular militia and the civil guards, who were charged with protecting the Chamber, would have been unable to resist them. The Radicals saw at once that the game was lost. As a matter of form, Figueras presented the resignation of the Cabinet to the Assembly. Martos, President of the Chamber, and the leader of the Radicals, recommended the formation of a homogeneous ministry, — a ministry entirely composed of men coming from the original Republican party. "For the Radical party to remain alone in power,"

said he, "might mean a battle in Madrid this very night, — a short battle, which we are sure of winning, but a bloody and terrible battle, which we ought to avoid for the good of the country, for humanity, and for the love of liberty." Figueras was re-elected, and the five Radicals in the preceding cabinet gave way to Republicans. The sacrifice of Amadeo, their sudden conversion to Republicanism, their expectation of playing the part of "guide, philosopher, and friend" to the Republicans, had served to give to the Radicals a share in the Government for exactly two weeks. Martos was blamed and even charged with cowardice by his party, — an accusation which was unjust. Opposition to the determination of the Republicans would only have resulted in bloodshed, with no possibility of success.

The new Republican Ministry at once followed up the victory by bringing forward, on March 4, a bill summoning the Constituent Cortes for May 10, and fixing the elections for April 11 to 13. The National Assembly was to adjourn as soon as it had voted the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico, the suppression of conscription in naval service, and the organisation of fifty battalions to operate against the Carlists. A standing committee was to be appointed, which of its own motion or at the suggestion of the Government, could call a meeting of the Assembly if extraordinary circumstances required such a step. Almost all the members of the committee whose duty it was to report on this bill were Radicals, and the majority made an adverse report, to the effect that the Constituent Cortes should be summoned as soon

as, in the judgment of the Assembly, "the elections can be held under conditions which guarantee the freedom of the suffrage and the lofty interests of the Republic."

In opposition to this proposition for indefinite postponement of the dissolution of the Assembly was a minority report signed by General Primo de Rivera, which virtually agreed in its terms with the Government bill, except that the dates of the meeting of the Constituent Cortes and of the elections of members for that body were fixed, respectively, for a month later. The Government accepted this bill as a substitute for its own, but the President declared that it was the utmost limit of compromise that the Ministry would accept. The passage of this bill was thus made a Cabinet question, and the Radical majority was now in a position to effect the downfall of the Ministry by defeating the bill. Again the popular excitement intimidated the Radicals. On March 8, the day of the discussion of the bill of Primo de Rivera, numerous groups formed in the neighbourhood of the House of Deputies with shouts of "Long live the Republicans!" and "Death to the Radicals!" These groups dissolved only on learning that the Assembly by a large majority (188 to 19) had agreed to take the bill into consideration as a substitute for the majority report. Martos declared that the announcement of the resignation of the present Government and the advent to power of a Radical Ministry would cause the cry of separation to be raised in many provinces, and would necessitate their conquest by the central government. Rivero, whom the more determined members of the Radical party expected

to show a bolder front to the enemy than had been presented by the President of the Chamber, refused to take office in a Radical administration. The bill for the adjournment was, therefore, passed without opposition, the elections were fixed for May 13 to 16, and the meeting of the Constituent Cortes appointed for June 1. The disgusted Martos immediately resigned the Presidency of the Chamber. He was succeeded by Francisco Salmeron of the same party, brother of Nicolas Salmeron, the prominent Republican and Minister of Justice.

The Assembly adjourned on March 22, after having passed the bill for the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico. Other bills approved, of a Republican tendency, were those providing for the suppression of the Council of State; declaring the crown property the property of the nation; abolishing the Royal Guards and re-establishing the "Volunteers of Liberty," who had been disbanded on account of their hostile attitude to the monarchy of Amadeo. Decrees of Castelar also suppressed the military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, as well as the decorative orders of Charles III., Isabella the Catholic, and the Noble Ladies of Spain. The conscription was also abolished, and volunteer service for the army substituted. Volunteers were to be paid at the rate of one peseta a day, enlistments to be for two years and re-enlistment for one year. These composed the army in active service; but service in the reserve for three years still remained obligatory on all Spaniards upon reaching the age of twenty. The members of the reserve could be called upon whenever the Government required troops in addition

to those in active service, so that conscription to a certain extent might be said still to exist.

The most important act of the Assembly was the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico; an act for which the Republicans, and especially Castelar, deserved the chief credit, since they met with stern opposition from the few Conservative members and received but lukewarm support from the Radicals. Bills for the suppression of the death penalty and for the complete separation of Church and State were brought forward, but were deferred for the consideration of the succeeding Cortes. In pursuance of the law, the Assembly before adjournment elected a standing committee to represent it and to convoke it under extraordinary exigencies. This committee of twenty members was composed of eight Radicals, eight Republicans, and four Conservatives.

Left in full possession of the field, the position of the Government was still a difficult one. The Carlist war in the North had begun to assume more alarming proportions, and the provinces of the East and South were exhibiting that impatience for the establishment of independent governments which they regarded as the first step to the foundation of the Federal Republic, and which was to develop later into a series of disasters. Few Spaniards had reflected upon the exact nature of a Federal Republic, and of those few still fewer had arrived at any definite conclusions. In Catalonia, protection was in the platform; in Andalusia, free trade. With many, the Federal Republic meant socialism and a general division of property. In the town of Montilla, in the Province of Cordova, the Republicans set fire to the houses of

several rich Conservatives; from Burguillos a telegram was sent to Madrid, announcing that a general distribution of property had been effected in perfect order.

In addition to the mighty problems growing out of the state of the country with which the Government had to deal, the Ministers were overwhelmed with boisterous applications for place from the hungry and thirsty Republicans of the rank and file, who "regarded the budget as invented for their support." More disquieting than all this was the want of discipline which had begun to appear in the army. In Madrid the sergeants and soldiers published a manifesto declaring that they would obey only the Government of the Republic, and would refuse obedience to their commanders if ordered to pursue any other course. In Barcelona, on being ordered to march against the Carlists, the troops mutinied and placed themselves at the disposition of the provincial deputations. The Government was also embarrassed by the lack of efficient military leaders in the Republican party. The generals and officers high in rank were disgusted with the condition of affairs, and devoted themselves to political intrigues. General Gaminde, Captain-General of Catalonia, on learning of the abdication of Amadeo, paid no attention to the repeated telegrams of General Cordova, who remained as Minister of War in the Republican Government, and showed little disposition to recognise the new order of things. Finding, however, that he was not sure of the support of his soldiers, who were saturated with Republicanism, Gaminde suddenly embarked for France without making any announcement

of his intentions. The appointment of the rabid Federalist, General Contreras, to succeed him completed the military disorganisation of that important province. As a consequence of the instability of government, the insecurity of the country, and oppressive taxation, trade was at a complete standstill.

In this state of affairs the Radical and Conservative majority of the standing committees decided once more to join issue with the Republicans. It was determined to convoke the Cortes in accordance with the provisions of the law, and to replace the Republicans with a Conservative Ministry under Serrano or Rivero. The President of the Chamber, Francisco Salmeron, was advised to take this course at once by Don Manuel Pavia, the Captain-General of Madrid, who claimed to be a Republican, but was opposed to Federalism. Pavia assured Salmeron that he could depend upon the support of the Madrid garrison, and that he would enforce obedience to the orders of the Cortes. He recommended immediate action, but refused to turn his arms against the Government unless the Cortes was immediately summoned for the purpose of removing the Republican Ministry and giving a legal warrant to his acts.

Salmeron hesitated to adopt these extreme measures, and after a consultation with his colleagues on the committee, it was resolved to order the Ministers to present themselves before the committee on April 20, when they should be called to an account for the disquieting state of the country, and should be made to feel the urgent necessity of the immediate convocation of the Assembly. Only one Minister, Sorni, who held the Colonial Department, attended in obe-

dience to this summons. The sole chance of success in favour of the committee was in prompt action. On the ground, however, of the death of the wife of Figueras, but really because they could arrive at no definite decision as to the course to be pursued, the committee postponed the meeting for the attendance of the Ministry until the 23rd. This gave the Government fair warning of the day and hour of the expected attack.

On the 23rd the Mayor of Madrid, the Marquis of Sardeal, who was a prominent Radical, and an outspoken defender of the prerogatives of the standing committee, on the pretext of a review, ordered out all the old militia. This body was of Conservative tendencies, and opposed to the Volunteers of Liberty, — the new militia or National Guard, which sided with the Republicans. One detachment occupied the Palace of Medina Celi, opposite the Chamber of Deputies, while the remainder took up its position in the Plaza de Toros, or bull-ring. Messages kept passing to and fro between the latter position and the house of General Serrano, which was in the neighbourhood, and in which a number of Conservative officers of high rank had assembled.

The delay of the committee and knowledge of the intentions of the Radicals had enabled the Government to prepare a counter-demonstration. It had collected five or six thousand Volunteers and the civil guard from the provinces. In the meantime the standing committee had begun its session, and on this occasion the whole of the Ministry was present with the exception of Figueras. Rivero had been chosen to make the attack upon the Government.

It was believed that his speech would be short and determined; it was in reality rambling and nervous, and seemed dictated by a desire for a compromise rather than a rupture. The drift of it was that the Radicals had deserved well of the Republicans. After a reply from Castelar, the Ministry announced that the militia had taken possession of the Plaza de Toros, that there were grave dangers of disturbances, and that the meeting must be adjourned to enable the Government to subdue what might prove to be an insurrection.

The Captain-General of Madrid, disgusted by the delay and hesitation of the standing committee, after waiting in the hope that it would adopt his views and decide to convoke the Assembly, sent in his resignation. The action of General Serrano and the Conservative officers who had collected at his house, was paralysed for the same reason. They wished to appear as the representatives of law and of the Parliament against an usurping government, but the hesitation and indecision of the Radicals rendered this impossible.

The energy of the Ministry contrasted with the temporising policy of their rivals. The resignation of General Pavia was at once accepted, and General Hidalgo, the hero of the artillery question which had occasioned the abdication of Amadeo, was appointed his successor. Towards seven in the evening, by the command of the Minister of the Interior, Pi y Margall, the troops of the garrison and the battalions of the Volunteers were moved against the Plaza de Toros. The militia, who had been waiting all day for orders, seeing that resistance was useless against

an overwhelming force, surrendered and were disarmed. At nine o'clock, when the committee resumed its sitting, the whole city was in the hands of the Government.

In response to the summons to attend the sitting, the Ministry advised the committee to adjourn at once, as a longer session might be dangerous to the personal safety of the members. This advice was warranted by the facts. The populace, after having assisted at the disarmament of the militia, began to rush toward the Chamber of Deputies, and with threatening shouts surrounded the building. Matters wore a dangerous aspect, not only for the members of the committee, but also for the Deputies who happened to be in the building. It was only by the personal exertion of Castelar and several of the Ministers that the members of the committee succeeded in making their escape. The chiefs assembled at the house of General Serrano were in great danger. The Duke de la Torre himself took refuge in the British embassy, whence he escaped over the frontier disguised as a footman; the Marquis of Sardoal received the hospitality of the American legation.

As soon as it could be accomplished, the leading opponents of the Government, Conservatives and Radicals, settled themselves in France, and swelled the group of Spanish exiles, already large and disaffected. On the following day there appeared in the *Official Gazette* a decree dissolving not only the standing committee, but the Assembly of which it was the representative. The principal grounds alleged for the decree were that the standing committee, by its tendencies and conduct, had been converted into an

element of perturbation and disorder; that it was determined to prolong the interregnum, and to convoke the Assembly when the interests of the country demanded its early conclusion and the election of the Constituent Cortes; and, finally, that it was a "constant obstacle to the Government of the Republic, against which it was continually intriguing." The Government would be responsible for its action to the Constituent Cortes.

The standing committee published from abroad a protest in response to this decree. The members declared that they had never overstepped the authority conferred on them by the Assembly, nor for a moment neglected the respect and consideration due the Executive. They expressed their determination to demand a reckoning from the Ministry before the legally qualified representatives of the nation, as well as to prosecute before the courts the authors of the illegal and scandalous violence of the night of April 23.

On March 23 the Republicans had eliminated their former allies, the Radicals, from the Government; on April 23 they drove them, as well as the Conservatives, from the country. These events, which seemed brilliant victories, were in reality great misfortunes. Of all governments, the republican form of government is the one which in appearance at least should rest upon public opinion and not fall into the hands of an exclusive class of politicians. On three occasions — first, on February 24, in order to secure the undivided control of the government; then on March 23, to effect the adjournment of the Assembly; and finally, on April 23, to dissolve the standing

committee — the Republican leaders, who in opposition had discoursed so eloquently on free institutions and the rights of man, had not hesitated to appeal to the means of intimidation which they found at hand. It was of course claimed, in behalf of the Government, that in that turbulent period it was with government, as with individuals, a struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest; and that each government was in the case of legitimate defence. Still, it was clear that the Republic in Spain must use the same methods as any other form of government. This was felt by none more than by Republicans of a moderate and conservative temperament, like Castelar, who had voted against the suppression of the standing committee. Precedents of force had been established which would soon be turned against the Republic itself.

The elections for the new Constituent Cortes took place in May, and that body assembled on June 1. The Conservatives and Radicals held themselves severely aloof from the polls. The Constituent Cortes was, therefore, representative only of a section, and could in no way be regarded as the organ of the Spanish nation as a whole, — a defect which is characteristic in Spanish assemblies. With the exception of three or four members of the Conservative party — among whom the most eminent was Rios Rosas — who had persisted in presenting their candidature at the polls, the Assembly was entirely Republican, and, with one exception, Federal Republican. This exception was Garcia Ruiz, who defended single-handed the centralised Republic. The Right was composed of the more conservative

Republicans, who were disposed to a moderate and conciliatory policy, and followed the leadership of Castelar. The irreconcilables, such as Contreras, Roque Barcia, the old Orense, Marquis of Albaida, and a number of crazy theorists, formed the Left. Between these two wings was the Centre, which was composed of a number of small groups following their respective leaders, and of independent Deputies who recognised no leader. The intellectual average of the Assembly was low. It was thus described by Pi y Margall, who, if any one, would be disposed to regard it in as favourable a light as possible: "They were without doubt inexperienced, and their intellectual level was not very high; their aspirations were not well determined, and their ideas not clearly fixed in regard to the principles which ought to be the basis of the federation."

The speech of President Figueras to the new Cortes explained the dissolution of the previous Assembly, and gave an account of the rupture between the Government and the standing committee, in which he asserted that the former represented legality and the latter illegality. The Republic was still viewed with suspicion by the governments of Europe; the Carlist rising was assuming ominous proportions, and, as was said, "they harass, lay waste, burn, assassinate, and commit every horror for a cause that must renounce every hope." Against this evil the Republic must display a feverish activity. The courts must be reformed so as to bring them more in harmony with the spirit of the age, and the relations between Church and State established at an early date "upon that footing of mutual independence required by the idea

of our generation and the necessity of our politics." A gloomy account was given of the financial state of the country on the advent of the Republic; but in spite of the condition of the treasury, the Government had been able to borrow at 12 per cent, while previous Governments had been compelled to pay 25. The insurrection in Cuba was losing strength; the hopes engendered by the new form of government were calming spirits and healing wounds, while in Porto Rico the abolition of slavery had been effected in the midst of the greatest rejoicing and the most sincere enthusiasm. "Forty-three thousand blind instruments of labour have regained their personal dignity, their natural rights, without the least perturbation resulting from this radical change." The speech closed with an eloquent description of the great works to be effected by the Constituent Cortes in the establishment of the Republic,—"a great work, which, undertaken with unselfishness and terminated with patriotism, will be the eternal admiration of future generations." Figueras then presented the resignation of the Provisional Government.

The first necessary act of the new Cortes—the appointment of Figueras's successor—showed the widely divergent views as well as the incapacity of the members. A proposition was presented to entrust Pi y Margall with the formation of the new Government. This was bitterly opposed by the Left, on the ground that the Assembly had the right to choose not only the President, but also all the other members of the Executive. The proposition was, however, carried by 142 votes to 58. On the following day the House, by 218 to 2, solemnly declared that the government of

the country was the Federal Republic. The only votes in opposition were those of Garcia Ruiz and Rios Rosas. Very few of the supporters of the Federal Republic held either clear or accurate ideas as to what the term meant, or where the line of demarcation between the powers of the States and Federal Government was to fall.

In the meantime Pi y Margall was labouring with the construction of his cabinet, which he presented to the Cortes immediately after the vote on the form of government. It was an attempt at conciliation, and represented the different groups of the Chamber. No sooner were the names of the new Ministry known than the Left renewed the attack of the day before. They charged the members of the new Government with being unknown men of no political record and importance. "Who," said Alfaro, one of the Deputies of the Extreme Left, — "who is Pedregal? Who are Cervera and Palanca?" Stress was also laid upon the fact that Deputies formed part of the Ministry who had supported the proposition to entrust Pi y Margall with its formation, and that these Deputies could not accept an appointment which might be regarded as the result of a bargain.

After an aimless and turbulent debate, Pi y Margall insisted on returning to the Cortes the powers which had been conferred upon him. The House then went into secret session, which lasted until four in the morning, and resulted in the acceptance of the proposition of the Left; that the members of the Executive under the presidency of Figueras had deserved well of the country for the sacrifice they had made in order to effect the meeting of this Constituent Cortes; that

they deserved the confidence of the Chamber, and that they should retain their posts.

This measure proved ineffectual, because, although the members of the late Ministry consented to continue, there was a crisis on the same day on account of a disagreement regarding the plans of Tutau, the Minister of Finance. The Government therefore resigned, and its chief, Figueras, arrived at the conclusion that the establishment of the Spanish Republic was all weariness and vexation of spirit. Whether he was disgusted with the hopeless beginning, or whether he had contracted engagements with Republicans of the different groups which he found himself unable to fulfil, without saying a word to any one, without waiting for the election of his successor, and while he was still President of the Republic, he took the train and went to France. The first that was known of this event in Madrid was a telegram from the governor of Valladolid to the Minister of the Interior, announcing the arrival at that city of the President of the Republic, and adding that the President was continuing his journey to the frontier without incident. We have here the unexampled case of the chief of a government who on the morning of June 7 received from Parliament a vote of thanks and confidence, and on the 11th disappeared from the country like a thief in the night. The voluntary ostracism from the scenes in which he had played so important a part brought to a close the political career of Figueras. His absence was passed over in silence by the Cortes, and he exerted no further influence on the course of events.

A new Ministry, with Pi y Margall as President,

was elected by a vote of the House to succeed the Figueras Government. Nicolas Salmeron was elected as President of the Chamber in the place of Orense, who had shown incapacity for the position, and who had finally resigned. The programme of the new Government was laid before the Cortes in a speech by Pi y Margall on June 13. He urged the necessity of conciliation between the different factions of the Republican party; of energetic measures in opposition to the Carlists, against whom the Government would ask for extraordinary powers; of enforcing discipline in the army, and of finding some solution for the financial problem. Measures for the separation of Church and State, compulsory free schools, and abolition of slavery in Cuba were also to be proposed.

Despite the sweeping reforms heralded by the new President, the Extreme Left engaged in intrigues outside of the Chamber for the establishment of the Federal Republic. Their central committee in Madrid wished to take measures at once for founding the State of New Castile, which was to be composed of Toledo, Ciudad Real, Cuenca, and Guadalajara, the four provinces of New Castile. Movements in the same direction were observed in Barcelona and other towns of the East and West. Dissensions also began to break out in the bosom of the Cabinet. Estevanez, who had been elevated from the rank of captain to the office of Minister of War, was accused in the Chamber by General Socias, one of the Deputies of the Left, with having deserted from the army in Cuba; and the discussion, full of personalities on both sides, left him with considerable loss of prestige. Ladico, Minister of Finance, a merchant from the

Balearic Islands, confessed his inability to deal with the difficulties of his department. A disagreement arose between Gonzalez, the Minister of Justice, and Benot, the Minister of Public Works, in reference to the removal of officials. The result was that in less than a week after its formation the Ministry was in full crisis. On June 21 the President explained to the Chamber that the Government had a certain feeling of weakness; that it remembered its origin, and feared that it did not possess the necessary support of the Cortes; and that in the critical condition of affairs it ought to be composed of men who had the entire confidence of the Chamber. In response to this declaration, a resolution was presented, under the leadership of Castelar, "that the Assembly declares that the President of the Executive Power of the Republic deserves its entire confidence, and in view of the difficult circumstances through which the country is passing and the dangers which threaten the Republic, it authorises him to solve the crises which may occur in the Cabinet presided over by him by appointing Ministers who in his opinion may best interpret the sentiments of the Republic, and may afford him the most decided support for the salvation of order, liberty, and the Federal Republic."

The speech of Castelar in support of this resolution is significant, as showing that he had begun to doubt whether the phrase "federal republic" was to be a remedy for the evils of his afflicted country. "If the Republic," said he, "triumphs over disorder, if it secures authority and justice, if it preserves the national unity, if it solves the questions of finance, if it kills the deficits which are devouring us, if it

destroys monopolies, if it elevates our country, I shall desire that the gratitude of my fellow-citizens may remember my services. But if the Republic should unfortunately be the ruin, the disorder, the unchaining of all hatreds and the destruction of all liberties, oh! then may God pardon me and may history forget me. . . . Sometimes I think that I have caused much disturbance to my country, and it is my wish, in the years of life that are left to me, to erect it upon a solid basis of stability, of order, and of government; and the same campaign that I have waged without selfish motives in the press, the tribune, and the professor's chair in behalf of liberty and democracy, I am going to wage henceforth in behalf of authority, stability, and government."

By a vote of 176 to 49 the resolution was approved, and authority to select members was conferred upon the President of the Executive Power. In the face of the opposition of the Left, which had succeeded in annulling the authority at first entrusted to Pi y Margall for this purpose, and had brought about a direct election of the members of the Cabinet by the Chamber, the power of intermeddling with ministerial changes was thus withdrawn from the Cortes and placed in the hands of the man who, in the words of Castelar, "had sufficient courage to accept the tremendous responsibility of power."

On June 28 the President, who took the Interior Department in addition to the Presidency, communicated the names of the new Cabinet to the Chamber. With the exception of Suñer y Capdevila, one of the more moderate members of the Left, who assumed the Colonial Department, the Ministers were all taken

from the Right. The President stated that he had sought for members of the Cabinet in all sections of the Chamber except in the Extreme Left, which had opposed the granting of authority to him for forming a Ministry, and the members of which could not, therefore, form a part of his Cabinet without an appearance of inconsistency. His programme could be summed up in two words, — order and progress; to subject all classes to the law, to make the decisions of the Assembly everywhere obeyed, and above all to bring the Revolution to a successful issue, and to realise the political and social reforms which had been promised.

The first important act of the Cabinet was to come before the House with a demand for the following bill: "In view of the state of civil war in some parts of the country, especially in the Basque Provinces and the Provinces of Navarre and Catalonia, the Government of the Republic is authorised to take all extraordinary measures which may be required by the necessities of the war, and which may contribute to the early establishment of peace." This demand was received with a violent outbreak on the part of the Left, the members of which asserted that it was directed against them, and that it was treason to Republican principles. One of their Deputies, Diaz Quintero, called attention to the inconsistency of the leaders of the Right. "King Amadeo," said he, "in spite of the Carlist insurrection and the other insurrections with which he was threatened, would not appeal to the suspension of guaranties. Now a Republican Chamber, where the oldest and most notable members have always voted against the sus-

pension of the constitutional guaranties, propose, not this same suspension of guaranties, which was limited by the Monarchists to certain articles, but the concession of extraordinary powers, in the abstract and absolutely, — a kind of dictatorship which has never been granted by monarchical chambers." He then read the vote in the Constituent Cortes of 1869, on the amendment offered by various Republicans to Article 71 of the Constitution, that "the Constitution cannot be suspended in whole or in part," in which figured the names of Pi y Margall, Castelar, Maissonave, and other members of the Government.

The Republican party, which under the Monarchy had fought persistently against any suspension of the individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution, now began the evolution of the Federal Republic by inaugurating a dictatorship. The leaders were not the first men who have suffered a fundamental change of views as a result of the responsibility of power. An excellent speech in support of the bill was made by Antonio Orense, the son of the old Marquis of Albaida, who was a member of the Right, while his father was one of the leaders of the Extreme Left. All through the proceedings of the Constituent Cortes of the Republic, father and son opposed each other and voted steadily against each other. Orense painted a gloomy picture of disorder in the country and of lack of discipline in the army. "The country is going to ruin and the Republic is going to ruin, because you have demonstrated that when the Bourbons were here, when there were reactionary governments, no one ventured to raise his head. All were humble subjects; but since we have the Republic,

everybody dares to rebel. There have been parties which have arisen in different places and been immediately dissolved, but this eternal contest with the established powers,— where has it ever existed?”

The bill conferring extraordinary powers upon the Government was approved by a vote of 137 to 17. It virtually transformed the President of the Executive Power into a dictator. No sooner was it passed than the irreconcilable Republicans seemed ready to prove by their acts the necessity of its application to them. In the capital the inhabitants were in continual alarm, and a threatened rising was prevented only by strengthening the garrison. At the end of June an insurrection began in Seville. The governor who had been sent to that province informed the Government that he regarded the proclamation of the State of Andalusia as inevitable. By his energy, however, the attempt was suppressed before it became general. The movement in Malaga was more important, and was headed by the leader of the Volunteers, Eduardo Carvajal, who expressed himself as willing to regard the commands of the Madrid government, but only on the basis of the local independence of his province. Further disorders occurred in San Lucar de Barrameda and in San Fernando, near Cadiz.

But it was the atrocities at Alcoy which, most of all, startled and shocked the country. This town, of about 16,000 inhabitants, is situated between Alicante and Jativa, and is one of the principal manufacturing centres of the South. The insurrection originated in a strike instigated by the International Society of Workmen. The strikers insisted upon the resignation of the mayor and town council; and they

demanded the appointment of members of their own party as the successors of these officers. The mayor, a Republican member of the Constituent Cortes of 1869, refused to resign, and took refuge in the Town Hall with certain of his supporters, a few militia, and a small number of civil guards. The strikers then set fire to the building, and the inmates either perished in the flames or were killed in attempting to escape. These horrors were communicated to the House in an eloquent speech by the Minister of State, Maissonave, and a resolution was voted that "the Cortes had heard with profound indignation the relation of the horrible events of Alcoy, and ordered the Government to proceed with inexorable energy against all who, by disturbing the peace, bring dishonour upon the Republic."

Effective action against the insurgents was hampered by the theories that swayed the mind of the President of the Executive Power. It was one of the beliefs of Pi y Margall that the federal movement ought to begin by the constitution of the ancient Spanish provinces. According to his view, federation was a compact between autonomous states which unite and create a power for the defence of their common interests and common rights. The best way to establish a Federal Republic was to begin — to use his own phrase — from bottom to top instead of from top to bottom; or, in other words, by forming the states before a central government, instead of establishing a central government before the due amount of home rule was entrusted to the different states which were to compose the Spanish Republic.

Now, the advanced Left also held these views, and

regarded the declaration of independence by the different cantons as a summary and effectual method of founding a republic from bottom to top. Pi y Margall admitted that the circumstances under which the Republic had been declared, the postponement of the organisation and definition of the new form of government to a Constituent Cortes, had rendered impracticable the existence of the Federal Republic from bottom to top. He could not, however, help feeling a certain surreptitious sympathy for those who were determined to try the experiment. He preferred to attempt to cool their ardour by a system of gentle persuasion rather than by force, and he had a blind confidence in the efficacy of quiet reasoning and good advice. To General Ripall, who received orders to prevent disturbances in Cordova and to restrain that province from imitating the example of Seville and Malaga, he gave the following instructions: "Do not enter Andalusia with the trumpets of war. Make the people understand that an army is formed only to guarantee the rights of all citizens and to make the decisions of the Assembly respected. Tranquillise the timid, restrain the impatient; prove to them that they are killing the Republic with their eternal conspiracies and frequent disorders. Maintain always your authority, but, in conflicts which may arise, never disdain to appeal before everything to persuasion and counsel. When this is not sufficient, do not hesitate to fall upon the rebels with energy. The Assembly is to-day the sovereign power. Its decisions must be awaited and respected." General Velarde was ordered against Alcoy, which he entered on July 18, after the principal insurgents,

to the number of five or six hundred, had escaped during the night.

The most alarming of the cantonal insurrections was that of Carthagena, which began on July 13. On that date General Centreras left Madrid, arrived at Carthagena on the following day, and placed himself at the head of the movement. The city, arsenal, forts, and frigates were all handed over to the rebels. The Canton of Murcia was proclaimed, and the revolutionary junta assumed all the powers of an independent government. In the sitting of the Chamber of the 14th, this insurrection was made the subject of an attack upon the conciliatory policy of Pi y Margall by Prefumo, a deputy from the city of Carthagena, and a member of the Right. "The Minister of the Interior" (Pi y Margall), said he, "was informed on the morning of the 12th of the threatened movement in Carthagena. What did the President of the Executive Power do? As usual, he crossed his arms and stroked his beard. The hours advanced; the train which had left here on the night of the 11th arrived in Carthagena with a Deputy of the minority, who placed himself at the head of the movement." He had warned the President against the character and antecedents of the governor whom he was going to send to Murcia, but the governor had been sent and was now in sympathy with the rebels. The Minister of the Colonies, Suñer y Capdevila, declared that he was disposed to fight the Carlists with tooth and nail; that he was ready to chastise the incendiaries of Alcoy; "but when it is a question of fighting and shedding the blood of my friends, of members of the same party, I declare that my heroism does not reach that point."

These attacks and the lack of harmony in the Cabinet itself, where there was considerable disagreement as to the methods of dealing with the cantonists, brought on a crisis which the President, in order to carry out his theory of the peaceful suppression of insurrection, attempted to solve by composing a conciliation Ministry from all parts of the Chamber. This he soon found to be impossible. None of the Extreme Left would take office because the constitutional guaranties were suspended, nor any of the Right because they favoured a homogeneous Ministry and an energetic policy. Pi y Margall, therefore, sent in his resignation to the Chamber on July 18, in the following terms: "In view of the very grave situation of the country, and of the great dangers which threaten the Republic and the Fatherland, I thought that the only ministry possible was one which united in a common sentiment all the factions of the Chamber, in order to face the necessities of war and to restrain the movement of separation which has begun in some provinces. It has not been possible for me to realise this desire. Unsuccessful in giving effect to my views, which after all may be erroneous; exposed in the Cortes not merely to censure but to outrage and calumny; fearful that by remaining in my post I may be charged with ambition that I have never felt, and that the name of the Republic may perhaps be compromised, I renounce not only the authority to solve the crises, but also the office of President, in order that the Cortes, in eliminating my personality, which has had the misfortune to excite not only lively sympathy but profound hatred, may tranquilly constitute a govern-

ment capable of remedying the present and conjuring future evils." Thus fell the second President of the Republic, leaving behind him the reputation of a man of thorough honesty and the best intentions, who was incapable of sacrificing his theories to the logic of events.

The day before the resignation of Pi y Margall and five weeks after the proclamation of the Federal Republic, the draft of the Republican Constitution was reported from the committee to the Cortes, where it was destined to perish still-born. It was mainly the work of Castelar. It divided the Peninsula and colonies into the States of Upper Andalusia, Lower Andalusia, Aragon, Asturias, the Balearic Islands, the Canary Islands, New Castile, Old Castile, Catalonia, Cuba, Estremadura, Galicia, Murcia, Navarre, Porto Rico, Valencia, and the Basque Provinces, — seventeen in all. It was a question whether the forty-nine provinces into which the country is now divided should be the basis of this division; but the difficulty was temporarily solved by leaving to the States the right to "retain or modify the existing provinces according to their territorial necessities."

The States were to have complete economic and administrative autonomy "compatible with the existence of the nation," and the right to make constitutions not inconsistent with the Federal Constitution. The State legislatures were to be elected by universal suffrage. The powers of the Federation were divided into legislative, executive, judicial, and the "power of relation" between these three departments. The legislative power was to be exercised by the Cortes,

the executive by the Ministers, the judicial by judges and juries, and the "power of relation" by the President of the Republic. The legislative power was vested in the Cortes, which consisted of the Congress and Senate. The Congress was composed of Deputies, elected by universal suffrage, one for every 50,000 inhabitants. The Senators were to be elected by the legislatures of the respective States, four for each State, irrespective of its importance or the number of its inhabitants. The Ministers were not allowed to be either Senators or Deputies, and could appear in either House only when especially summoned. The President and Vice-President were to be elected by an electoral college composed of electors chosen in each State by universal suffrage, and equal to double the number of the Senators and Representatives sent to the Cortes by each State. Entire separation of Church and State was provided for, and the Supreme Federal Court could pass upon the constitutionality of laws enacted by the Cortes. This outline will show how closely the Constitution of the United States had been followed.

With the Republic during the dictatorship of Francesco Pi y Margall, the Revolution of September, regarded simply as revolution, may be said to have reached its utmost development. We may regard its course as a steadily descending line, gradually declining from liberty to license, and now destined to turn upward from revolution to reaction. The state of affairs at the date of the resignation of the second President was aptly and eloquently described by Don Antonio Rios Rosas, in his speech of July 19, 1873. "I perfectly agree," said the venerable states-

man, in almost the last speech addressed to the Cortes before his death, "that the Government should represent here the principles, the ideas, the interests, and even the prejudices of the Republican party. Neither to-day, nor to-morrow, nor ever, do we ask you to represent anything else. But even representing this as a government from the Republican party, you are also the government of the nation, and you have duties to fulfil toward the nation. . . . Every party has its ideas, its principles, its methods; but all must discharge, so far as they extend, the duty of assuring, of representing, and uniting all the rights, all the interests of society. On this condition alone, without asking from you anything now, or to-morrow, or ever, in exchange for the support which we gave you yesterday, and which we will give you in the future, we only hope that you will *govern*, that YOU WILL GOVERN! On this sole condition we are here to support you. . . . I believe that the Government of the Republic from February 11 until to-day has not governed; I believe absolutely that there has been no government from that day until to-day. Until now the Government of the Republic has not governed for a single day or a single moment. . . . I have seen all kinds of governments succumb in turn to the superior force of their enemies; but I never before saw a government against which an insurrection rose which it did nothing to repress, nothing to combat, but everything — absolutely everything — in order that the insurrection might prosper, spread, and conquer. This is the history of the disturbances of Malaga, of Seville, of Granada, of Carthage, of Cadiz, of Barcelona, of everywhere; this is even the dreadful history of the horrors of Alcoy."

The first step towards a healthy reaction and the extrication of the country from these evils was the election of Salmeron, the President of the Chamber, to succeed Pi y Margall as President of the Executive Power of the Republic, by 119 votes to 93. The votes cast for the former President were cast by the Left and certain members of the Centre.

Don Nicolas Salmeron y Alonso was a native of the province of Almeria. He had taken sides with Espartero against O'Donnell, and had been counted as a Democrat. Afterwards he was a powerful contributor to the Republican papers, — Rivero's *La Discusion* and Castelar's *La Democracia*. In 1865 he was elected a member of the Democratic Republican Committee in Madrid, but held aloof from active politics until 1868. Having been sent abroad by his party on a confidential mission, he was arrested on his return to Madrid and imprisoned for five months. At the time of the pronunciamiento of Cadiz, he was regarded as the most promising leader of the Republican party. His declaration at the first Republican meeting in Madrid in October, 1868, — that he did not believe that the country was yet ready for a republic; that he was a Republican of the future, but a Monarchist for the present, — excited great surprise and regret in the party. He took no part in the Constituent Cortes of 1869, and first appeared in the regular Cortes of 1871, in which he took his seat among the Republicans. In the Cortes of 1872, when Ruiz Zorilla was Prime Minister, he made one of the best speeches in the debate on the King's speech. On the abdication of Amadeo, he took no active part in the proclamation of the Repub-

lic. As Minister of Justice under Figueras, he obtained the remarkable reputation of not having removed a single employee of his department for political reasons. When he was elected President of the Chamber to succeed Orense, his firmness and knowledge of parliamentary law contributed much to restraining the turbulence of the Extreme Left. On being called to assume the Presidency of the Provisional Government of the Republic, he declared that he was determined to re-establish order. "This government is resolved," said he, "to be inexorable with all who attempt to infringe the law, and first — note it well — first with the Republicans."

On the entrance of the new Government into power, the aspect of the country was disheartening. The Federalists were in complete control of Carthage, where they had even liberated the convicts and mustered them into service. On July 19 Valencia proclaimed the independence of the Valencian Canton, and compelled the authorities to retire to Alcira. Alicante and Castellon, under the lead of Deputies from the Left, followed the example of the other Eastern provinces. On July 21 the Minister of the Interior, Maissonave, read the following telegrams, which will give an idea of the spirit in which certain Republicans approached the problem of establishing a republican government in the Peninsula: "Alicante, July 20: The Deputy Galvez Arce to the President of the Executive Power: — I arrived to-day with the frigate Victoria. The population sent commissioners on board. I disembarked with them. Alicante and its fortresses declare spontaneously for us. Committee of Public Safety constituted. Complete tran-

quillity." "Castellon, July 20: The Canton of Castellon has been proclaimed. Army and civil guard fraternise with the people. Great enthusiasm. Tranquillity. GONZALEZ CHERMA." In Andalusia, Malaga was again to begin the movement. This province was in the hands of two factions, led, respectively, by the Deputy Solier and by Carvajal, who fought hand to hand in the streets for supremacy. In Seville the insurgents forced the garrison to retire, leaving a large quantity of arms and ammunition, which was used by the rebels to prepare for their defence. In Cadiz the mayor declared the independence of the canton, and the troops who remained loyal to the Government took refuge in the arsenal, where they were sorely pressed. From Cadiz and Malaga the movement spread to Granada. In the East and West the central government was now obeyed only in a few spots where the presence of loyal troops kept the population in subjection.

The first act of the new President was to substitute for the generals in command, who were disposed to temporise with the insurrection, others on whose determination to enforce discipline he could rely. General Arsenio Martinez Campos¹ was ordered against Valencia. General Salcedo was to operate against Carthagena. The command in Andalusia was given to Don Manuel Pavia. As general-in-chief against the Carlists in the North, General Nouvilas was replaced by General Sanchez Bregua.

Martinez Campos moved at once upon Valencia, which he bombarded upon the refusal of his proposals

¹ Governor-General of Cuba in 1895.

for an accommodation. The leaders then fled, the city was entered by the troops of the Government without difficulty and tranquillity restored.

General Pavia adopted a vigorous offensive in Andalusia. Leaving Madrid on July 21 with only a thousand troops, he proceeded to Cordova by the way of Ciudad Real, because the direct line had been cut by the insurgents. There he suppressed at once the threatened cantonal movement, and, after disarming the militia, advanced to Seville. The insurgents had made elaborate preparations for defence. They had constructed barricades, placed artillery, and taken possession of the public buildings. The peaceable part of the population remained hidden in their houses. The attack began on July 28, and it was not until the evening of the 31st, after four days of hard fighting, that the Federalists, at whose head was the Deputy, General Pierrad, fled, leaving their arms and munitions. In many of the public buildings the walls were found to be covered with petroleum; barrels of powder had been placed in the cellars, and preparations made for a general conflagration.

General Pavia immediately ordered the disarmament of the population, re-established the civil authorities, and then proceeded against Cadiz. Two young officers of the old artillery corps persuaded the soldiers in the barracks to declare against the Federalists. The insurgents virtually made no resistance to the entrance of the Government troops. After a general disarmament and the reduction to submission of the neighbouring towns of Algeciras, Tarifa, and San Roque, General Pavia turned his attention to

Granada. On August 12 he took possession of that city without resistance.

General Pavia now notified the Government of his intention to march upon Malaga, the last place in Andalusia still under the control of the Federalists. The Deputy Solier, who was at the head of the Federalist movement, had addressed an insolent letter to the commander-in-chief, and had issued a proclamation in which he gave assurances that the army would not be permitted to come to Malaga. He ventured upon this action on account of the support he received from Palanca, the Minister of the Colonies, who, as an important leader of the Centre of the Chamber, held a certain balance of power between the Right and the Left. The President of the Executive Power was, therefore, in a difficult position, and was threatened with a possibly adverse majority if the troops entered Malaga. It is also alleged that certain wealthy citizens found the Federalist régime very profitable for contraband trading, and brought influence to bear upon the Government. Whatever the reason may be, General Pavia received orders from Madrid not to march upon Malaga, and immediately sent in his resignation. He alleged that all his success against the other cities would be without result if Malaga, the city which began the cantonal movement, should be left unpunished. The Government refused to accept his resignation. Appreciating the difficulties of the President, Pavia finally decided to continue in his command, and took up his headquarters at Cordova, where, in an attitude of observation, he awaited further orders from Madrid.

The most dangerous of all the Federalist disturb-

ances was that of Carthagena, which, under the dictatorship of General Contreras, had developed into the importance of a government rival to that of Madrid. The dictator had distinguished himself for his bravery in the first Carlist war, and obtained the rank of field marshal when still a young man. In politics he had begun life as one of the Moderate party, but had afterwards attached himself to General Prim, and had played an important part in the unfortunate insurrection of 1867. He brought himself into notoriety under the reign of Amadeo by refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the King. Under the Republic, he had been sent, a captain-general, to Catalonia, where, in order to gain popularity, he made no attempt to enforce discipline among the troops under his command, with the result that they began to assume the aspect of political clubs.

On July 13 Contreras arrived at Carthagena with the Deputy Galvez Arce, and immediately proceeded to organise the Canton of Murcia, and to address communications to the Madrid Government, beginning: "The President of the Canton of Murcia to the President of the Canton of Madrid." Taxes were levied, and wealthy inhabitants mulcted. Roque Barcia, another notorious Deputy of the Left, assumed the Portfolio of the Interior, while Contreras, Galvez, and a certain Romero formed a provisional directory with the title of the "Supreme Power of the Spanish Federation." All the cantons declaring their independence were to send delegates to this directory, and as soon as a majority of the Spanish provinces had joined the movement, the directory was to summon

a federal assembly, into whose hands it was to resign its powers.

What made the insurrection of Carthagena the most dangerous and difficult to suppress of all the cantonal movements was the fact that a large portion of the Spanish navy was stationed in the port, and was immediately seized by the insurgents, with whom the crew made common cause. Airich, the Minister of Marine in the Cabinet of Pi y Margall, went to Carthagena, boarded several of the frigates, and in vain attempted to persuade them to return to their allegiance, with the sole result that he came near losing his life on board of the *Almansa*. The attempts of Pi y Margall himself to prevent the general movement through the province by a transfer of troops were rendered ineffective by the opposition of Gonzalez, his Minister of War, who declared that he did not have a single battalion to send to Carthagena, and who left unanswered the telegrams of General Velarde, who was still in Alcoy, and who asked repeatedly for orders to advance.

The Salmeron government published a decree in the *Official Gazette*, declaring the vessels of the cantonals to be pirates, and "authorising the vessels of war of friendly nations to detain said vessels, and to bring the crews to trial, while the Government reserves its property in said vessels, and will make a diplomatic presentation of its claims." This decree, which gave rise to a tumultuous debate and a proposition of the Left to declare it null and void, was supported by a vote of 110 to 90.

In the latter part of July the *Vigilante*, one of the insurgent vessels carrying the Spanish flag, a red

flag, and the cantonal colours (red, yellow, and violet), was approached by the German frigate Friedrich Karl. On being asked under what flag she was sailing, the Vigilante replied that she was flying the colours of the Canton of Murcia. The commander of the German frigate answered that he had no knowledge of the existence of such a state, and inquired what use was being made of this ship of war. "We are only making a pleasure trip," was the reply. The Vigilante was then seized by the Germans, and carried to Gibraltar, where she was afterwards delivered to the Spanish government. The commander, Werner, of the Friedrich Karl stated that he knew nothing of the decree declaring the insurgent vessels piratical, and that he acted only in accordance with maritime law.

This capture caused great excitement in Carthage, where the German consul ran great risk, and where General Contreras threatened to declare war against the German Empire. Captain Werner was afterwards recalled by the German Government, on the ground that his action implied a recognition of the Madrid Government. It was admitted that he had the right to seize a vessel flying an unrecognised flag on the high seas, but not that it was allowable to interfere within the three-mile limit.

In view of the danger from foreign vessels, General Contreras determined to secure as soon as possible some profit from the naval forces of the Canton of Murcia. On July 29, with the frigates Victoria and Almansa, he arrived from Carthage in the harbour of Almeria. He ordered the city to send away the soldiers quartered there, to declare the independence

of the Canton of Almeria, and to pay a war tax of one hundred thousand dollars. The population having withdrawn from the city, the authorities informed Contreras that his demands were refused; and the military governor of the province took charge of the defence, with the civil guard under his command and a small number of volunteers who placed themselves at his orders. The cantonals, in attempting to land, were driven back; and after bombarding the city for a day and injuring a number of houses, withdrew in the direction of Malaga. On the way they levied two thousand dollars on Motril, and seized all the tobacco in the place.

On arriving in Malaga, they again came in contact with the Friedrich Karl, as well as with an English and a French frigate. The *Almansa* and *Victoria* were convoyed by these vessels back to Carthagena, on the condition that they were not to leave that port. General Contreras was retained in the *Friedrich Karl* as a hostage, but was afterwards released. The *Almansa* and *Victoria* were delivered by the German vessel to the commander of the British squadron, who carried them to Gibraltar. There they were handed over to the Spanish Government. In spite of these losses, the naval forces of the canton were still greater than those of the Government. There yet remained in the harbour of Carthagena the *Numantia*, *Mendez Nuñez*, *Tetuan*, and *Fernando el Catolico*. The Province of Murcia was destined to remain a prey to anarchy for many months in defiance of all the efforts of the Government.

While these events were taking place, the party of order in the Cortes, under the leadership of Castelar,

was steadily gaining ground. Their hands were strengthened by the telegrams which the Minister of the Interior, Maissonave, daily read before the Cortes, reporting the state of the country, and showing day by day the terrible crisis through which it was passing. The influence of the Extreme Left was also reduced by the absence of about forty of its members, who were engaged in fomenting insurrection. Less than twenty of the advanced wing remained to preach their incendiary doctrines in the House.

On July 30 the Chamber passed two resolutions by large majorities, — one giving thanks in the name of the country to the people of Almeria for having repulsed the barbarous aggression of the naval forces of the insurgents, and another declaring that the Assembly had seen with profound disgust the conduct of the Deputies who had risen in arms against its power and sovereignty. Both propositions gave rise to excited debates and wild vituperations on the part of Diaz Quintero, Cala, Olave, and other remnants of the Extreme Left.

The debate on these resolutions called forth a great speech from Castelar, whose voice had of late not been often heard. "Have you not noticed," said he, "this phenomenon, — that the advanced Republican parties to which we belong pass like a meteor through all the horizons of Europe? They rule some months in Italy, a month in Vienna, a month and a half in Frankfort, scarcely a year in France, some time in Spain, and then disappear like a bloody comet, not put to flight by their enemies, but by their own passions, by their errors, by their intemperance, and, above all, by their mad revolutions

against themselves, which cause their death. What a sad spectacle, the saddest spectacle in Europe! All that we have defended, the Conservatives have realised. Who sustained the idea of the autonomy of Hungary? A republican, Kossuth. Who realised it? A conservative, Deak. Who advanced the idea of the abolition of serfdom in Russia? Republicans. Who realised it? An Emperor, Alexander. Who preached the unity of Italy? A republican, Mazzini. Who realised it? A conservative, Cavour. Who originated the idea of the unity of Germany? The republicans of Frankfort. Who realised it? An imperialist, a Cæsarist, Bismarck. Who has awakened the republican idea, three times stifled, in France, — because the First Republic was a tempest, the Second a dream, the Third nothing but a name? Who awoke the republican idea in France? A celebrated poet, Victor Hugo; a great orator, Jules Favre; another orator no less illustrious, Gambetta. Who has consolidated it? A conservative, Thiers."

Another result of the cantonal movement was that the draft of the Republican Constitution on which the debate began on August 11, was not received with much enthusiasm either by the majority or the minority. The debate was opened in a powerful speech by a young Conservative deputy from the Canary Islands, Leon y Castillo,¹ who maintained that the Federal Republic was not adapted to Spanish institutions or character; that it was impossible to impose institutions upon a people without taking into consideration its qualities and defects; and that a strong central government was necessary to restrain that

¹ At present (June, 1898) Spanish Ambassador in Paris.

tendency to revolution which existed in the provinces of Spain. "What is the history of the country for centuries," said he, "but a rude and eternal war of antagonism? First, family hatreds between tribes; then cities, then the nations which have inhabited the Peninsula. This antagonism and these hatreds have even subjected the love of country, have delivered us to the yoke of conquerors, and have prolonged our servitude."

A minority draft had been presented by the Deputies of the Left, Cala and Diaz Quintero, which provided for the establishment of the federal government from bottom to top, by the previous formation of the State governments, and limited the powers of the central government. Many of the majority had begun to have doubts of the saving powers of the Federal Republic, and the minority felt enfeebled from their loss in numbers. The signers of the minority draft withdrew their signatures, and Castelar declared that there was no need of hastening the discussion. "Things," said he, "which are easily born and created, die easily, and we must have a solemn and ample discussion." The condition of the country, according to the same speaker, was not favourable for constitutional discussion. After the defeat of the Carlists, there would be time for voting a Republican Constitution. The debate soon lost interest, and the speech of Leon y Castillo was the only contribution of any value to the discussion, which was soon suspended without any attempt being made to revive it. The proposed Constitution was thus allowed to die a natural death.

The election of Castelar on August 26 to the Presi-

dency of the Chamber marked another advance in the conservative tendency disclosed in that body by the elevation of Salmeron to be chief of the State, and by the support given to his energetic policy. A conscientious scruple, however, now led the President of the Executive Power himself to resign the power which had been intrusted to him. It was the question of capital punishment which induced Salmeron to take this step. The generals in command of the forces of the Government declared that they could not answer for the maintenance of military discipline unless the law was allowed to take its course in the case of officers and soldiers whose conduct had subjected them to the death penalty; and that the decision of the court martial in certain cases was not to be interfered with. Salmeron had always been an ardent advocate of the abolition of capital punishment. He wished neither to prove false to his principles nor to obstruct the course of justice. On September 6 he communicated his resignation to the Cortes, in consequence of his inability to meet "the imperious exigencies of public opinion." "In the debate upon the crisis caused by this retirement from office, Salmeron argued with great vigour in favour of a continuance of the policy which he had inaugurated, replying to a violent arraignment by Pi y Margall, who, as of old, was in favour of conciliation and amnesty, and who was the candidate of the Left for the presidential succession. "The Government of the Republic," said the retiring President, "has already six long months of existence, and it has not yet been elevated to the rank of a government in the appreciation of the other governments of Europe.

We live in complete isolation. Almost all the nations of Europe regard us as a veritable danger. . . . It is not possible to form a conciliation ministry — to unite in a government opposing tendencies which are repugnant to each other — when what we need is unity in conception, rapidity and energy in execution. . . . There is one man who does not yield to any who have thus far served our country; who shines as an orator unequalled until now, not merely in Spain but in the parliamentary annals of the world; who represents the spirit of the majority of the Chamber and corresponds exactly and faithfully to the opinion of the country at this moment. This is the man who ought not to try to conciliate what cannot be conciliated. He should form a homogeneous government, the only government possible, and in my opinion the only government which can preserve the liberty and the honour of the country, and to which I confide the last supreme hope of establishing the Democracy and consolidating the Republic.”

The brilliant orator whom Salmeron heralded as his successor, and as the last supreme hope of the Republic, was Emilio Castelar, who was elected to the Presidency by 133 votes to 67 for Pi y Margall, the candidate of the Left. Salmeron himself was transferred to the Presidency of the Chamber. A great transformation had taken place in the mind of Castelar since the days when he represented the most advanced Republican ideas in his journal, *La Discusion*, during the reign of Isabella II., or when in the Constituent Cortes of 1869 he thundered against the suspension of constitutional guaranties, and drew pathetic pictures of the suffering caused by conscrip-

tion. With all his tendency to brilliant generalisation regarding the rights of man, and to the proclamation of the most radical theories of human liberty when swept along by the overwhelming torrent of his own eloquence, the temperament of Castelar is essentially conservative; a temperament which loves order, shudders at anarchy, and regards stability as the primary condition of government. It required the errors and excesses of the Spanish Republicans to bring him to an accurate knowledge of his own character. By a gradual evolution, the vigorous opponent of a standing army had become the most energetic advocate of military discipline, and was ready to levy the largest number of troops that the country had been called upon to furnish; the most persuasive advocate of the Federal Republic, he was nevertheless determined to suppress the federal insurrection with a stern hand; the most earnest expounder of the authority of Parliament, he accepted power only on the understanding that the early adjournment of the Chamber would leave him a dictator with unlimited powers. Nor did Castelar hesitate to avow that he had sacrificed his convictions on the altar of patriotism. "Accuse me of inconsistency if you wish," said he in his speech defining the policy of the new Government, "accuse me of inconsistency, and I will listen to the accusation and make no effort to defend myself. Have I the right to save my reputation at any cost, and to prefer it to the safety of my country? Let my name perish; let future generations abominate my name or let the present generation condemn me to abandonment and exile, — it matters little; I have lived enough: but let not the Republic be destroyed

by my weakness; let not the country perish in our hands. . . . I who have always defended liberty, I who have always defended the Democracy, I who have always defended the Federal Republic, and who have always felt in my heart a religious veneration for all these principles, I tell you now that what we need at this moment — because true policy is a compromise between the ideal and the necessary — what we need is order, authority, government.”

The fourth President of the Executive Power of the Republic went to work with energy to carry into effect the programme of government which he had announced, and which was a continuation of the policy of his predecessor. He at once introduced a bill authorising the Government to take whatever extraordinary measures it might deem necessary in reference to the war, to mobilise the reserves, and to raise a hundred million of pesetas to be expended solely for military purposes.

On September 18 a resolution was introduced by a deputy of the Right that the Cortes adjourn on the following day until January 2, which was carried by 124 to 68 votes, in spite of vigorous opposition from the Left led by Pi y Margall. The President of the Executive Power again took occasion in this discussion to impress upon the Chamber that the only hope of the Republic rested in the re-establishment of order. “The only political problem that we have to deal with,” said he, “is to demonstrate that with the Republic there is order, authority, respect for law, punishment for the criminal, war for pronunciamientos, and horror of anarchy; that the Republic can create a strong society, a state respected within

the federation, and in harmony with the integrity, unity, and prosperity of the country. This is the problem. If the Republic demonstrates this, the Republic will be eternal; if the Republic gives itself over to the delirium of demagogues and cantonals, the Republic will die dishonouring the Democracy, amid the abomination of Europe and the maledictions of history."

The adjournment of the Chamber left the President a dictator with autocratic powers, untrammelled by the jarring interferences of the Deputies of the Left, who had attempted at every step to interfere with the measures of Salmeron. As far as the exhausted condition of the treasury would permit, he contracted for placing upon a better footing the arms and equipment of the armies in the field. He proceeded to raise in two levies a hundred and twenty thousand men. He called into service the best generals at his disposal, irrespective of their party affiliation. General Moriones was again placed in command of the Army of the North. General Martinez Campos was employed against the Carlists in Catalonia, while the command of the operations against the insurgent Federalists of Carthagena was entrusted to General Lopez Dominguez, the nephew of Serrano. He summoned General Pavia to the capital, and persuaded him to take the post of Captain-General of Madrid. He completed the reorganisation of the officers of the artillery corps, who had adopted a more favourable attitude towards the Republic since the suppression of General Hidalgo, which was one of the last acts of Salmeron.

Although the Federalist movement in the South

was the source of great danger to the Republic, the strength and resources of the Carlists had marvelously increased since the fall of Amadeo. That event had produced even greater rejoicing among the supporters of the Pretender than among the Republicans. They hoped, not without reason, that the errors and excesses which were committed in the name of the Republic would drive many into their ranks. Don Carlos himself, on July 15, made his appearance in Spain, and on the 16th published a call for volunteers, in which he declared himself to be the sole representative of the genuine monarchy. On August 2 he aroused the wildest enthusiasm in the Basque Provinces by taking a solemn oath under the revered oak of Guernica to respect the *fueros*, or special privileges, so dear to the hearts of the inhabitants.

With the assumption of the command of his forces by the Pretender in person, the war entered upon a new stage, both in the increase of his army and the success of the operations. In his speech presenting the bill for extraordinary means for prosecuting the war, Castelar, on September 12, made the following statement of the Carlist forces: "Carlism has increased to truly menacing proportions. We calculate that about twenty-five thousand Carlists are scattered in the four provinces most attacked by this terrible plague. We calculate that there are two thousand men in the province of Santander who daily threaten the railway by which we communicate with the rest of Europe. There are from six to eight thousand Carlists in Catalonia. Five thousand inundate the Maestrazgo, and threaten simultaneously Morella,

Segorbe, and Castellon. There is a large number of Carlists in the provinces of Alicante and Murcia, who naturally take advantage of the insurrection of Carthagena and the situation of the troops who are occupied in the siege. There are Carlists in Galicia and quite a large number in Burgos, so that we calculate the whole number to be about fifty thousand." They had captured Estella, the ancient stronghold of Carlism, and blockaded Tolosa.

The appointment by Castelar of General Moriones in the place of General Sanchez Bregua, who had shown marked evidence of incapacity, resulted in a favourable turn of fortune for the Liberals. General Moriones attacked the enemy successfully at Santa Barbara and Monte Jurra, and by a bold and rapid march in very severe weather from Pamplona to Irun, succeeded in raising the blockade of Tolosa.

The cantonal insurrection in Carthagena, with its four forts and the frigates, still continued without any apparent hope of its early subjection. On October 11 the insurgents gained a material advantage in a naval battle with the Government squadron under Admiral Lobo. In the interior of the city the Federalist leaders attempted to embody their wild theories of government. Among other decrees of a similar character issued by the junta were two which provided that inherited property and property purchased from the State at the time of the disamortisation of church property, at a price less than its real value, should be regarded as the public property of the canton. The siege was vigorously pressed by General Lopez Dominguez, and the bombardment of the city continued without intermission during the whole of the month of December.

Cantonal movements which appeared early in the month in Cadiz, Ferrol, and different points of Catalonia, were promptly suppressed by the Government without difficulty. It was the hope of all the supporters of cantonalism that Carthagena would succeed in holding out until January 2, the date fixed for the reassembling of the Cortes, when the fall of Castelar and the condemnation of his policy by the Assembly would add new strength to the insurrection.

To the serious problems with which Castelar was grappling, there was now added a grave cause of difference which led almost to a breach with the United States, and strengthened the hands of Castelar's opponents. The *Virginus* left New York on October 4 with about a hundred and fifty men and a cargo of arms and supplies for the Cuban insurgents. The Spanish consul at Kingston had given notice of the expedition to General Burriel, the governor of Santiago, who sent the frigate *Tornado* in search of her. The frigate sighted the *Virginus* about eighteen miles from the coast, and caught up with her after eight hours' pursuit, just as she was about entering English waters on the coast of Jamaica.

On the return of the *Tornado* to Santiago, without waiting for the conclusion of the court martial which had begun an inquiry, or listening to the intercession of the foreign consuls in behalf of their citizens, and as if to anticipate a prohibition from the Central Government, General Burriel ordered fifty-seven of the prisoners to be shot at different times. Among them were the captain, who was an American, a number of other Americans, and a brother of Cespedes, the President of the "Cuban Republic."

The executions would probably have continued if a telegram from the Madrid Government forbidding further slaughter had not finally been received. It was alleged that this telegram was delayed in transmission on account of the breaking of the wires between Santiago and Havana.

Although the men who engaged in this expedition probably knew that they were taking their lives in their hands, the report of the capture of the vessel and the subsequent executions aroused the greatest excitement in the United States. The *Virginius*, at the time of her seizure, was on the high seas, carrying the American flag, and provided with papers in regular form. In response to public opinion, the American Government demanded the surrender of the *Virginius*, an indemnity for the families of the victims, the liberation of the other prisoners, and the salute of the American flag. To give emphasis to these demands, naval preparations were begun on a large scale.

In Spain, where people are always ready to show their feelings without consideration of the consequences, the excitement ran as high as in the United States. The Cuban volunteers declared themselves ready to go to war with the United States without the help of the mother country, and threatened to burn the *Virginius*, that there might be no further consideration of the question of her return. In Madrid the required salute of the flag caused lively indignation. To no one was the whole question a cause of such pain as to the President of the Spanish Republic himself, distinguished alike for his humanity and for his admiration of the institutions of the

United States. With a civil war at home, the insurrection in Cuba, the Federalists in possession of an important part of the fleet, his Government unrecognised by any foreign power, the dictator knew that Spain was absolutely impotent in the presence of the requirements of the Washington Government, and that the truest patriotism exacted a complete sacrifice of national pride. He determined to grant all the demands of the United States, and to remove what he regarded as an excellent pretext for the seizure of Cuba.

In spite of the praiseworthy efforts of Castelar, there was no general improvement in the state of the country as the day approached for the reassembling of the Cortes. The siege of Carthagena still dragged along; the troops of the Government had made no impression upon the Carlist strongholds. But the greatest danger to the Government of the dictator was the threatening aspect of his own party, and the falling away of many of the Deputies who had supported him before the adjournment. Pi y Margall, the leader of the regular Opposition, was using every effort with the Left and the Centre to secure a majority sufficient to assure the overthrow of Castelar. The only method of conquering these adversaries, of defending the change in his convictions and the possession of extraordinary powers, was to be able to show at the reassembling of the Cortes material and beneficent results flowing from his policy. The inherent difficulties of the situation prevented the exhibition of such results. The opponents of the President could still point to the insurgents in possession of Carthagena, and the Carlists preparing to

threaten Bilbao, the home of Liberalism in the midst of the hostile Basques; they could accuse him of having sacrificed the national honour in the settlement of the Virginius question.

In addition to these threatened attacks of his natural enemies, the Federalists, who detested the dictator's cherished idea of a centralised conservative republic, the most significant circumstance was the menacing attitude of Salmeron. Differences had developed between the two eminent Republicans which had turned Salmeron from the position of enthusiastic support which he had so glowingly described in his last speech in the Cortes, — the speech in which he hailed Castelar as the future saviour of the Republic. Salmeron was in favour of a republic constructed solely by Republicans, in which the other parties might have a share after the structure was complete; Castelar was in favour of seeking the aid of the conservative parties during the process of construction. Salmeron believed that the Federal Constitution should be discussed and promulgated at as early a date as possible; Castelar was firmly of the opinion that the question of the Constitution should be deferred, and that the pressing issue was the establishment of a strong government and the pacification of the country.

Apart from this divergence of views on general policy, Salmeron and a number of other Republicans were dissatisfied with the attitude of the President toward the Vatican. Castelar had used the prerogatives of his office to appoint an archbishop and two bishops; and according to the ancient custom, he had requested the "enthronisation" of these dignitaries

by Pope Pius IX. This act, while it appealed to a nation of religious tendencies, excited the animosity of the majority of the Republicans, who professed to hold advanced views on religion as on everything else.

As January 2, 1874, the inevitable day for the reassembling of the Cortes, drew near, the observer of the currents of politics foresaw the fall of Castelar, and the fall of Castelar meant the revival of Federalism. In the minds of many, the revival of Federalism meant the delivery of the country to anarchy.

One important personage who took this view of the result of the President's defeat, and who therefore felt the gloomiest forebodings for the future, was Don Manuel Pavia, the Captain-General of Madrid. In politics Pavia was one of the revolutionists of September, and in favour of a centralised republic. He was a strong supporter of Castelar, and he saw that while the enemies of the dictator might destroy his government, they had no idea what they could erect in its place. Some time before the meeting of the Cortes, he visited Castelar, and painted in strong colours the dangers to which the country would be exposed by the advent of the Federalists to power. He informed the President that it was the general opinion that he would be defeated by the votes of the Left and Centre, and urged him to dissolve the Assembly or prorogue it until a distant date. He assured him that he would repress any disorder which might result from such a measure.

Castelar felt no hope of escaping defeat, but he emphatically refused to accede to any violent solu-

tion. "I will not," said he, "risk an atom of legality. On January 2 I shall present myself before the Cortes. I shall explain to them my conduct, and if I am beaten I shall retire to my dwelling to mourn in bitterness the misfortunes of my country."

Pavia saw that it was hopeless to attempt to bring Castelar to his views. He therefore determined to dissolve the Cortes himself, and thus explains his motives: "Placed in the unique position in Spain of being where I could throw myself instantly upon anarchy and stifle it at its birth, without listening to any other voice than that of my conscience, and without being influenced by any other motive than my affection for my country, I decided to execute the act of violence of January 3, 1873." To the chiefs of the different parties, exclusive of the Republican, with whom he held interviews toward the end of December, he expressed himself as follows: "If Castelar is beaten, I shall save the country by dissolving the Assembly. I alone shall suffice. I need the support of no one; I forbid the slightest manifestation. You may remain quietly at your homes. When I dissolve the Assembly, I shall summon you and turn over to you the situation just as I have taken it into my hands. I shall then ask you to form a government capable of saving the country."¹

There was great excitement in Madrid on January 2. The streets leading to the House of Deputies were thronged with people. In the building itself the corridors and tribunes were crowded. Everything showed the importance of the crisis, and no

¹ A. Houghton, *Les Origines de la Restauration des Bourbons en Espagne*.

session had excited such interest since the day that Amadeo of Savoy was elected to the Spanish throne.

The sitting began at two in the afternoon. The Ministry was on the Blue Bench, in full attendance, except the Minister of the Colonies, who was absent in Cuba. Castelar proceeded to read his message, which began with the statement that the Government had made an effective use of the unlimited powers entrusted to it. He declared that order had been sustained in all parts of the country which were not disturbed by civil war. He hoped that Carthage, whose criminal outbreak had been encouraged by demagogic passions, would soon be subject to the Republic. The conduct of the Carlist war had become more difficult on account of disorganisation and want of discipline in the army. No other policy was possible than a policy based on extraordinary measures, which would necessitate for some time the sacrifice of certain liberties. The army was an absolute necessity. The Government had re-established the military code, had re-organised the artillery corps, and had appointed to command two distinguished generals representing both parties, in order to give the army a truly national character. The era of popular insurrection and military pronunciamientos must be brought to a close. The nation must recognise that it can obtain the satisfaction of just demands by universal suffrage and not by barricades. The army must learn that it existed for the purpose of upholding the laws and obeying the decision of the Cortes. The Republic represented authority, freedom, right, duty, and progress; and all liberal parties should be united in its support. To all classes of

society it must be proved that the Republic meant peaceful progress, and the Republicans themselves must calm public opinion by showing the spirit of reconciliation. "And when the period of unrest and dangers are over, you can return to your homes with the consciousness of having served your country, and may expect from the judgment of history the names of conservative founders of the Spanish Republic."

With the close of the President's message, the debate began on the vote of confidence proposed by the supporters of the Government. The debate lasted until seven o'clock, when an adjournment was taken until eleven at night. On the reassembling of the House, the debate continued, and Castelar defended his policy with all the power of the splendid eloquence which had so often swayed the Assembly. He preferred, said he, "the worst republic to the best monarchy; but it must be a possible, not a theoretical republic." His arguments, his appeals, were all in vain. The Left and the Centre were determined upon his downfall. The resolution of confidence was defeated by 120 to 100 votes. The President of the Executive Power arose, and with emotion communicated the resignation of the Government, and requested that for the welfare of the Republic a new Ministry be immediately formed. The opponents of Castelar had gained the victory, but they were not agreed upon the composition of the new government.

The entire night had been spent, and day was just beginning to break on a misty wintry morning, when two aides-de-camp of the Captain-General of Madrid appeared upon the scene. With true Castilian cour-

tesy they informed the President of the Chamber, Salmeron, that they were under the painful obligation of requesting him to inform the Deputies they must leave the building. They also added that the Captain-General of Madrid "was compelled to grant but a very short time to the Deputies of the nation to evacuate their palace." General Pavia had kept himself informed of every step of the proceeding of the Assembly since the beginning of the session. When he received definite information of the defeat of Castelar, he ordered the troops out of their barracks, occupied all the streets leading to the House of Deputies, and surrounded the building. The captain-general himself took his position in front of the edifice, surrounded by his staff. In a speech made in the first Cortes of the restoration in which he explained and defended his action of January 3, 1874, General Pavia said that even at this moment he felt the most acute regret that a man of his liberal ideas should have to execute an act of violence against the representatives of the nation, but that his conscience ordered him to do his duty, and to prevent the delivery of the country to anarchy. To him the fall of Castelar meant the beginning of anarchy.

The President of the Assembly announced to the Deputies the message he had received from the Captain-General of Madrid. This announcement was received with the greatest excitement, which the President in vain attempted to calm. Many Deputies expressed the determination to die at their posts. Enthusiastic applause greeted the statement of the Minister of War, Sanchez Bregua, that he would immediately issue a decree depriving General Pavia

of all his honours and decorations. A resolution of confidence in Castelar was then proposed by one of the members of the Left, and would have been unanimously approved, but the President of the Executive Power declared that he should not have the necessary force and that he should not be obeyed. He was unwilling also to owe his return to power to an act of violence. This movement of repentance on the part of the Deputies of the Left and Centre was reported to General Pavia, but the captain-general had gone too far to retrace his steps. He only shook his head and said "Ya es tarde,"—"It is too late now." The period allowed for the evacuation of the building had elapsed, and the guards began to enter. On hearing the sound of musketry in the corridor the Deputies quickly left the building. According to the statement of the official report of the proceedings, "the sitting terminated immediately. It was half-past six on the morning of January 3, 1874."

Thus the good citizens of Madrid, when they awoke, found that another pronunciamiento was to be recorded in their annals, and that the attempt at a Federal Republic had gone into the limbo of the abortive experiments in governments, in which the Revolution was so fertile. The general impression was one of relief. The majority of Spaniards believed with General Pavia that the victory of the advanced Republicans meant anarchy. Castelar carried with him in his fall the respect and sympathy of the best part of his countrymen. The Republic did not fall by his fault, because, if he had remained in power, the deliberations of the Constituent Cortes of the Republic would have continued without interference

from the garrison of Madrid. It ended through the fanaticism and lack of foresight of his party. In the midst of his regret at the failure of cherished hopes, the disillusion of the dreams of his youth, the greatest and noblest of the Spanish Republicans must have been more than human not to have tempered his melancholy with the thought that for him the *coup d'état* of General Pavia represented "not punishment, but vengeance."

CHAPTER VI

THE REACTION AND RESTORATION

(January 3, 1874—January 7, 1875.)

BETWEEN the Revolution of September and the *coup d'état* of General Pavia, there had been a great change in the composition and division of parties. Of the three parties of the Revolution, the Progressist, the Liberal Union, and the Democratic, the first, after the assassination of Prim and during the reign of Amadeo, had split into two distinct and opposing factions, — the Constitutionals or Conservatives under Sagasta and the Radicals under Ruiz Zorilla. As distinct party organisations, the Liberal Unionists and the Democrats had virtually disappeared. A number of the former, like Martin Herrera, Silvela, and Romero Robledo, who were disgusted with the failure of the Democratic Monarchy and the excesses of the Republican experiment, had openly joined the ranks of the Alfonsists; while the remainder, who, like Serrano and Topete, still had some lingering hope of the final success of the Revolution, had coalesced with the Constitutionals. Those of the Democratic party who had been originally Monarchists, like Rivero, Martos, Becerra, and Moret, and who had not joined the Republicans in the Constituent Cortes of 1869, had become merged with the Radicals; and after the retirement of Ruiz Zorilla on the abdication of Amadeo, Martos succeeded him in the leadership of the Radical party. The Republicans were also irretrievably divided into the moderate

or conservative Republicans, followers of Castelar, and the advanced Republicans or Federalists under Pi y Margall. There were also a few scattered supporters of a centralised Republic, of which Garcia Ruiz was the conspicuous and able exponent. The transformation of parties had, therefore, been from Progressists, Liberal Unionists, and Democrats to Constitutionals, Radicals, conservative Republicans, and advanced Republicans or Federalists. These with the dynastic parties, the Carlists and Alfonsists, made up the composition of parties at the beginning of 1874.

The Constitutionals and Radicals not only differed from each other in their opinions, but also in their attitude toward the Alfonsists and Republicans. The Radicals were in favour of a Republican form of government as the only possible means of avoiding the restoration of the Bourbons and of giving form to the aspirations of the Revolution, and for this purpose they were disposed to an alliance with the moderate Republican followers of Castelar. The Constitutionals were rather the party of opportunism. They were not opposed to retaining the Republican form of government, but they regarded with disfavour any alliance with the Republicans, and rather hoped to increase their numbers and influence from the ranks of the moderate Alfonsists. Their single aim was to acquire exclusive control of the Government, and to keep it with the view of securing the most influential position in the future government, republic or monarchy, which might be evolved from the course of events in the final solution.

On the completion of the *coup d'état*, General Pavia called together the military and civil chiefs of

all the above parties with the exception of the Carlists and Federalists. Castelar, who had been invited as the representative of the moderate Republicans, refused to attend the meeting, and responded by publishing a protest against the suppression of the Constituent Cortes of the Republic, which was signed by sixty Deputies of the Right. To the representatives of the remaining parties who had obeyed his summons, the captain-general explained that he had no intention of destroying existing institutions. With a self-effacement unprecedented in the annals of Spanish pronunciamientos, which gave him with many people the reputation of not being entirely sane, the man who could have made himself dictator entrusted the representatives of the different parties with the formation of a government of "conciliation and coalition." It was a surprise and disillusion to him to find that the leaders did not wish to arrive at an understanding.

On seeing that Pavia as well as the other notabilities present were in favour of giving the name of Republic to the new government, Canovas del Castillo, in behalf of the Alfonsists, declared that they could take part only in a government entirely without political colour, whose sole aim was the re-establishment of order and a preparation for the restoration of Alfonso of Bourbon. The Alfonsists therefore withdrew and took no further part in the discussions. By their retirement and the refusal of the moderate Republicans, General Pavia at the very outset saw two important conservative elements holding aloof from the Government which it was his aim to create from all the parties of order. The Consti-

tutionals and Radicals then formed a coalition cabinet, with Serrano as President. To Sagasta and Martos, leaders of the Constitutionals and Radicals, were respectively given the Departments of Justice and of Foreign Affairs. The remaining portfolios were entrusted to members of these parties, except that of the Interior. This Department, in consequence of the insistence of General Pavia, was given to Garcia Ruiz, the most conspicuous and able advocate of the centralised Republic.

The first act of the new Ministry was the issue of the usual circulars to the provincial governors by the Minister of the Interior and to the Spanish representatives abroad by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The difference, or rather the direct opposition, in the tone of these two documents showed the divergence of views which existed in the Cabinet. Sagasta's circular was an attack upon Republican misrule, and pointed to a future Constituent Cortes which should "fill the gaps left in our institutions by the voluntary abdication of the Monarch, and introduce the remedies which the costly experience of these later days has shown to be necessary." Garcia Ruiz, on the contrary, declared with no less emphasis that the future Cortes was not to be a Constituent Cortes; that the present Government was Republican, and that the "Government is resolved not to allow open or secret attacks by any one or in any way against the existing form of government." In fact, the Cabinet and the country were for some time in doubt as to just what form of government had been established by the *coup d'état* of January 3. General Pavia was opposed to the election of a president or

chief of the executive, and had so expressed himself in the meeting of party leaders which he had summoned. The Government, therefore, had at the beginning the character of a simple provisional government, with Serrano as President of the Council of Ministers, similar to the Government which existed during the Constituent Cortes of 1869, in the interval between the expulsion of Isabella II. and the Regency of Serrano, and during the Republican administrations of the previous year. The expediency of a plebiscite was at one time discussed, but differences of opinion prevailed among the Ministers as to just what should be submitted to the people for decision. The views of the Radicals, who gained the support of Serrano, finally carried the day, and it was resolved to call the Government a Republic and to promote Serrano from the presidency of the Council of Ministers to the position of chief of the State.

The decree in which Don Francisco Serrano y Dominguez resigned the former office to become the President of the Executive Power of the Republic appeared in the *Official Gazette* of February 27, 1874. In the preamble of this decree it was declared that the indefinite continuance of the present indefinite state of affairs might be a source of serious conflict, and that the chief of the State should not be a member of the Ministry, but should be an impartial judge between the different tendencies which in modern society strive for power through public opinion.

With a change of title Serrano for the second time found himself the appointed ruler of Spain. His title was now President of the Executive Power of



the Republic. In outward form the Government was the same as during the previous year. The only difference was that the chief of the State was no longer a member of the Cabinet, as were the four Presidents of the Executive Power of the Republic who had preceded him. The result of the act of General Pavia was to transfer the Republican dictatorship from a civilian to a soldier. The Government continued to be as much of a republic as its predecessor had been.

The suppression of the insurrection at Carthagena and the final disappearance of the Canton of Murcia relieved the new Government of the necessity of dealing with the cantonal question which had proved such a cause of uneasiness to the preceding Governments of the Republic. On January 6 the arsenal at Carthagena exploded with great loss of life. On the 9th the besieged made a last desperate attempt at a sortie, and were driven back with great loss. On the evening of the 11th negotiations were begun for the surrender of the city. On the 12th the Numantia with the members of the junta and 2500 Federalists succeeded in escaping from the harbour in defiance of the efforts of the Government squadron to detain her. She landed on the coast of Algeria, where the French authorities detained her passengers but restored the vessel to the Spanish Government. On the 13th General Lopez Dominguez made his entry into the city. Carthagena was almost a mass of ruins; only twenty-eight houses were left uninjured by the terrible bombardment, and the losses to the city by the experiment of the Canton of Murcia were estimated at over ten million dollars.

The position of the Government was, however, full of difficulty. There was still the Carlist war in the North, the insurrection in Cuba, the necessity of quartering troops in the South to prevent any reawakening of the Federalist craze. During 1873 no appropriation had been made for interest on the debt, but the best efforts and the most consummate ability were required from the Ministers of Finance to extract from the country sufficient to meet the military expenditures. The army of operation in Cuba amounted to upwards of 80,000 men, and it was necessary to send continual reinforcements to replace the losses resulting more from the climate than the insurgents. In the Peninsula itself, with the garrisons, the forces in occupation of the South, and the armies in the field against Don Carlos, there were about 200,000 men under arms. Commerce was in a dying condition. Communications with France and with the rest of Europe by land except through a few mountain passes were entirely interrupted. The trains no longer ran between Saragossa and Barcelona and between Barcelona and Valencia, and the only communication between the principal seaport of the country and the ports of the rest of Spain was by sea. In addition to these open misfortunes, the Government had to contend against the secret efforts of the Monarchists to undermine its influence and to give the impression that it was a provisional government which could not endure, and which was only the last step to the Restoration.

Of the rising tide in favour of the return of Alfonso of Bourbon as a final settlement, of the far-reaching spread of the movement in the army,

the aristocracy, and the wealthy classes, the Government was not ignorant. But in the ranks of the Alfonsists themselves there was a difference of opinion between the military and civil elements. Señor Canovas del Castillo, the leader of the latter, was in favour of a waiting policy. He believed that the Restoration was destined to be the outcome of the varied course of events which had intervened between the fall of Isabella and the *coup d'état* of General Pavia. He preferred, therefore, to let the parties of the Revolution exhaust themselves and the country by continued experiments in government and by repeated failures, until, in weariness and despair, the nation would call upon his prince as a saviour to heal its woes. He was opposed to the introduction of the new régime by the old and time-honoured method of a *pronunciamiento*, and he saw the prestige to be gained if the Monarchy were the peaceful result of the vote of the people after the confessed failure of the parties which had brought about the expulsion of the dynasty. He was also anxious that the civil rather than the military should be the preponderating influence in the future reign.

These views of the most eminent leader of the Alfonsists were combated by the military and reactionary element of the party. They argued that the Government of Serrano owed its existence to a *coup d'état*, and that it was only just that a *coup d'état* should destroy it. They claimed that there was no disadvantage for the Monarchy to owe its restoration to the army, because it would be compelled after that restoration to depend upon the army for its defence and support.

To counteract the growing influence of the Alfonsists, Serrano hoped to strengthen his Government by the addition of two other elements in the country. He believed that he could in time secure the support of the moderate and the good-will of the advanced Republicans, who would prefer anything to the return of the Bourbons. The other element was the former revolutionists, who had joined the Alfonsists through disgust at the Republic and the belief that the Revolution had failed. These he thought capable of being enticed back to their former friends as soon as they saw in the new Government a promise of solid endurance. He imagined, finally, that the country in general would be satisfied with any government that gave it tranquillity.

The problem, which in its importance and in the possibilities of its effect on politics overshadowed all others, was the method of dealing with the Carlists. It seems to have been doubtful in the minds of Serrano and his Ministry whether the entire suppression of a movement which had now grown to the proportions of a civil war would result in advantage or disadvantage to their Government. At one time they appeared to believe that the danger of a pronunciamiento in favour of the Restoration was less to be feared while the army was in the field than after the defeat of the enemy, when the Ministry would be brought face to face with the necessity of a final settlement of the form of government, and would not be able to oppose any solution which the victorious army might propose. At another time they had the air of imagining that a decisive success would make Serrano so popular in the country that he

would become master of the situation, and would be able himself to dictate his own solution, whether the Restoration or a conservative Republic. The existence of these two opinions and the oscillation from one to the other give the key to the policy and attitude of the Government of General Serrano towards the Carlists during the winter of 1874. It is this which explains the vacillations from activity to quiescence, the bursts of energetic and successful effort followed by periods of complete inaction, which enabled a crushed and despondent enemy to regain his courage and recruit his strength.

The principal army of Don Carlos occupied the country between the Ebro and the French frontier, and in the beginning of 1874 consisted of about 30,000 men. This did not include forces scattered through Catalonia, Lower Aragon, Castellon, and Valencia, which consisted rather of bands of guerillas and bandits than of regular troops, and which devoted themselves to the commission of every kind of outrage in these provinces. From the Ebro to France the Pretender commanded in person, and had established the semblance of a regular government, with Estella as his capital. Taxes were levied, and the traveller who wished to penetrate southward through the Carlist lines was compelled to pay his right of passage to the custom house officers of Carlos VII., who at many points plied their vocation within a short distance of the Liberal lines. In the midst of a friendly country, and in possession of almost the whole frontier of the Pyrenees, the Carlist army had no difficulty in securing supplies from the surrounding country and from France, where their juntas were

in direct and open communication with the forces of the Pretender, with whom the merchants of Hendaye, Bayonne, Pau, and other cities of the frontier carried on a profitable trade without the slightest interference from the Government of Marshal MacMahon.¹

At the beginning of 1874 the operations of the main army of the Carlists were directed towards the blockade and capture of Bilbao. This city, one of the wealthiest and most prosperous of Spain, had always been a stronghold of Liberalism in the midst of Carlism. In the first Carlist war (in 1835) it had earned the title of "villa invicta," "the unconquered city," by its stubborn resistance to the armies of the first Pretender, until it was relieved by Espartero. It is situated in greater part upon the right bank of the Nervion, which connects it with the sea, and is surrounded on the south, east, and north by high hills, which give a view of the interior of the city. It was garrisoned by four thousand men, under the command of General Castillo. By the end of January the forces of Don Carlos, after capturing Portu-galete, which gave them the command of the river Nervion, surrounded the city, cut off all its communications with the sea, and prepared for a regular siege, with the hope of increasing the prestige of the Pretender in Spain and the rest of Europe by the capture of this stronghold of the Liberals in the Basque Provinces, and of adding to his resources by the imposition of a ransom on one of the richest cities of the Peninsula.

To oppose these operations of the Carlists was the

¹ A. Houghton, *Les Origines de la Restauration des Bourbons en Espagne*.

Army of the North, under the command of General Domingo Moriones. The forces at the disposal of this experienced and distinguished officer amounted to about forty-five thousand men; but after leaving garrisons in the cities in Carlist territory which were still in possession of the Liberals, and detaching sufficient troops to ensure his communications and supplies in a hostile country, not half this number could be used for an offensive movement. The plan of the general-in-chief was to advance to the mining district of the Somorostro, near the coast, to seize the mouth of the Nervion, and to advance along both banks of the river, in order to compel the besieging army to retire into the interior of the Province of Vizcaya.

The advantage of position was all in favour of the Carlists, who were in possession of the heights which separate the valley of the Nervion from that of the Somorostro. Among the rocks, behind the ridges, and in their trenches, the followers of Don Carlos were concealed and sheltered, while the Liberal troops were compelled to march to the attack up a steep incline, in full view and exposed to the sweeping fire of the enemy.

General Moriones was fully impressed with the inadequacy of his forces to dislodge the Carlists from their almost impregnable position. In vain he appealed to the Madrid Government to send him sufficient reinforcements to enable him to turn the left of the enemy, while making a pretended attack upon the trenches of Somorostro, — a movement which he could not execute with his slender forces without extending his line over too great a stretch of territory

and running the risk of having his army cut in two. The Government refused to give him the additional forces required, and ordered him to proceed with the forces at his disposal. On February 25, with grave doubts as to the result, Moriones attempted to seize the fortified positions of San Pedro de Abanto, which commanded the roads from Bilbao and Portugalete, and after a desperate fight was driven back with the loss of twelve hundred men and seventy-five officers.

In his telegram giving a report of the battle, the commander-in chief of the Army of the North communicated his resignation as a mark of his dissatisfaction with the course of the Government in forcing him to the attack without supplying the forces necessary for success. The news of the defeat caused great excitement in Madrid, and roused the Government from its lethargy. Serrano summoned a Cabinet Council, and expressed his determination to take command himself of the Army of the North. He gave orders for the immediate advance of all reinforcements that could be spared from the garrisons of the South and the capital. He left Madrid for the North immediately after the meeting of the Cabinet and the acceptance of the resignation of General Moriones, and arrived as soon as possible at the headquarters of Somorostro.

A month was occupied in bringing up reinforcements, munitions of war, and supplies. This interval was not misspent by the Carlists, who increased their trenches, strengthened the defences along their line, and transformed the heights into veritable fortresses. This increased advantage of the Carlist position made more surprising the determination of

the Liberal generals to follow the example of Moriones and storm the heights from the front instead of attempting to turn the Carlist left, although their forces, which now consisted of twenty-seven thousand men and sixty pieces of cannon, would have enabled them to execute the movement which Moriones had desired but feared to undertake with the insufficient forces at his command.

On March 25, the Liberal troops, protected by their batteries, made a simultaneous attack upon the right, the centre and left of the Carlists, and succeeded in carrying a few positions. On the 26th there was desultory fighting without important results. The decisive conflict was left for the 27th, when Serrano began by an assault upon the Carlist right and left in the hope of drawing the attention and forces of the enemy from the centre, which was to be the real point of attack. It was his object to carry the position of San Pedro de Abanto and San Julian, and cut the line of the enemy in two at its centre. This would have compelled the Carlists to fall back, leaving their right between the Liberal army and the sea, where the frigates of the Government were stationed at the mouth of the Nervion ready to cut off their retreat.

The Carlist leaders were quick to see, however, that all depended upon the successful defence of San Pedro de Abanto and San Julian, and massed at the centre all their best troops. The Liberals, under the command of Generals Loma and Primo de Rivera, stormed over seven hundred yards of open space, swept from three sides by the fire of the enemy. When both these generals fell dangerously wounded,

Serrano placed himself at the head of the troops. With that contempt of personal danger which he was always ready to display, in advance of his staff, which had dismounted, alone on horseback, the most conspicuous figure in the field, he remained exposed to the fire of the enemy, impassible alike to the acclamation of his soldiers and to the solicitations of his aides. It was all in vain. When night came on, the Liberals were compelled to retire, and after one of the bloodiest battles of the war, the Carlists still held the heights and trenches of San Pedro de Abanto and San Julian. The Liberals lost two thousand men and a hundred and eighty officers, and the Carlists but little less.

A truce was agreed upon for the burial of the dead, and during the suspension of hostilities the officers from both sides visited each other, and there was much friendly intercourse between the two camps.

This further check to the Liberals encouraged the Carlists to prosecute with renewed vigour the siege of Bilbao, which they now regarded as a certain prey. The President of the Executive Power, on the other hand, was fully alive to the emergency. He notified the Government that a third army corps must be formed. The garrisons were withdrawn from the South, and the civil guards were ordered into the field. To the command of this army corps, with which it was finally decided to turn the Carlist left, he appointed Don Manuel de la Concha, Marquis del Duero. Concha was at this time in his sixty-fourth year, and was the brother of Don José de la Concha, Marquis of Havana, the last Minister of

Isabella II. The two brothers had long been eminent in the army and in politics. The Marquis del Duero had been one of the most energetic and resourceful leaders in the first civil war. He was now regarded as the best strategist and most severe disciplinarian in Spain.

On his arrival at the camp of Somorostro, the entire control of the operations for raising the siege of Bilbao was entrusted to him. The plan he recommended was the same which had suggested itself to Moriones. The third army corps was to advance through the mountains of Vizcaya and turn the Carlist left, while the main body under Serrano was to engage the right and centre. This movement was begun by Concha on April 28, and on the 30th, after some resistance at various points in his march, he took up his position in the rear of the enemy.

In a council of war, the Carlist generals decided that it was impossible to wait for the attack of Serrano while exposed to an attack from Concha in the rear. The command was, therefore, given to abandon the lines of the Somorostro. The troops blockading Bilbao were also ordered to raise the siege. These movements were accomplished with such secrecy that Concha advanced unobstructed to the gates of Bilbao, and Serrano was in possession of the heights in front of him before it was known or suspected that the enemy had retreated. In silence and discontent they had disappeared in the night, leaving their campfires burning.

The unconquered city was again rescued in the second as it had been in the first civil war, and by the same military operations. The siege had lasted

a hundred and twenty-five days. Almost all the houses, churches, and public buildings were injured by the terrific bombardments. No one thought of surrender, for all knew the treatment that the hated city, which had given them check in two wars, must expect from the followers of Don Carlos. The patient courage with which the women bore privations and dangers excited the admiration and cheered the spirits of the defenders. Relief arrived none too soon. Provisions for five days and thirty cartridges to a man were all that remained when, on May 2, a date celebrated in Spanish history, Concha and Serrano made their entrance into Bilbao amid the joyous acclamations of its weary inhabitants.

The Carlists were disheartened by the failure of their efforts. The rank and file charged their generals with incompetency or treachery. Everything was now favourable for an offensive movement by the Liberals, which might result in the expulsion of the Pretender from Spanish soil and the early ending of the war. The forces around Bilbao were in the neighbourhood of fifty thousand, with a hundred pieces of artillery, and the troops were full of enthusiasm and confidence in their commanders. It was an opportunity for Serrano to remain at the head of the army and to gain the distinction and popularity which would redound to the victor of the second civil war.

But the President of the Executive Power evidently did not take this view of the state of affairs. He seemed still to be of the opinion that the ending of the war would only hasten the Restoration. He knew that Concha himself was a partisan of the

exiled Prince, but that he was opposed to any movement in his favour while in open campaign against the enemy, and that he had so expressed himself in emphatic terms to a number of officers of the Army of the North, who had approached him on the subject of an Alfonsist pronunciamiento. It might be assumed, however, that with the defeat of the Pretender and the termination of the war, the Marquis del Duero would be one of the most influential and powerful advocates of the Restoration. The Madrid Government was not over-anxious, by a sudden elimination of the Carlist question from the field of politics, to remove what many people regarded as the last impediment to the return of Alfonso of Bourbon. Immediately after the raising of the siege of Bilbao, Serrano resigned into the hands of General Concha the command of the Army of the North, and returned to Madrid. Concha and his army were left as long as possible in inactivity around Bilbao, while the Carlists had time to reorganise their forces, and to prepare for an indefinite prolongation of the struggle.

On his arrival at the capital, the President of the Republic found that the politicians had not been idle during his absence. The discord in the Cabinet between the Constitutionals under Sagasta and the Radicals under Martos grew day by day more bitter. With that incapacity for personal sacrifice which is the striking characteristic of Spanish politicians, each party was struggling and intriguing for the lion's share of the offices and for a preponderating influence on public opinion. The Ministerial crisis which had been delayed only with difficulty broke out with the return of Serrano, who found himself compelled to

choose between a Radical Ministry with the possible entrance of the moderate Republicans, and a Ministry composed entirely of Constitutionals. The experience of the Cabinet of the *coup d'état* had shown the difficulty of forming a coalition of the two groups. It was impossible to create any satisfactory understanding between the Constitutional members of the Cabinet on the one hand, and the Radical representatives with the Republican Minister of the Interior, Garcia Ruiz, on the other. Serrano decided in favour of a homogeneous Constitutional Ministry, which was formed on May 13. The Presidency of the Council of Ministers with the portfolio of War was given to General Zavala. Sagasta, who remained the leading spirit in the Cabinet, exchanged the Department of Foreign Affairs for that of the Interior. The portfolio of Foreign Affairs was taken by Ulloa, a former member of the Serrano ministries of January, 1871, and May, 1872, during the reign of Amadeo. Camacho, who for years was regarded in Spain as the ablest financier in public life, was placed at the head of the Treasury. The Department of Justice was entrusted to Alonso Martinez, who, until his death, in 1891, was almost continuously in office; and the Departments of Public Works, the Colonies, and the Navy to Alonso Calmenares, Romero Ortiz, and Admiral Rodriguez Arias.

The formation of this Ministry was, after all, a logical sequence of the *coup d'état* of January 3, which was an act of conservative and reactionary import; and it was but another step in the course which had begun with that event. The author of the *coup d'état* did not take that view. When General Pavia

saw the fall of the Coalition Ministry and the rupture of the coalition between the different groups, which was "to make the Revolution of September re-enter its natural course," he sent in his resignation as Captain-General of Madrid and retired in disgust.

Towards the end of May General Concha determined to transfer the theatre of operations against the Carlists from Vizcaya to Navarre. His plan of campaign was to attack the united forces of the enemy by a movement upon Estella, the capital of the latter province, the "sacred city" of Carlism. He was sure that Don Carlos would bring forward his best troops to the defence of the city, and a defeat of the Pretender at that point would compel him to flee into France and bring the war to a speedy termination. To carry out this plan with success, it was necessary to execute a wide semi-circular movement from the south to the northeast of the Carlist line. More than once while preparing for these operations, the general-in-chief was heard to express his bitter regret at not having an additional army corps at his disposal. The Government, as usual, had not furnished the reinforcements sufficient to give a certainty of success, but the Liberal commander hoped to bring the movement to a favourable issue by the superiority of his artillery and the energy of his attack.

The Carlists occupied a position almost at the centre of the semi-circle made by the Liberal forces. They understood that Estella was not so much threatened in the south as upon the east and south-east, where the general-in-chief was directing his best

troops. They withdrew their battalions which were holding the positions of Monte Jurra and Monjardin, and massed the pick of their forces at this point.

The battle began on the afternoon of June 27 by an attack in front on the Carlist positions by the third army corps under the command of Concha; while the other divisions, under Generals Reyes and Martinez Campos, endeavoured to turn the right and left of the enemy. It was late in the afternoon when General Concha, in advance of his staff and accompanied by a single aide-de-camp and his orderly, dismounted for the purpose of reconnoitring. As he was about to remount and rejoin his staff, he fell mortally wounded by a ball from the Carlist trenches. At the same time the assault in front and the attack upon the right and left were repulsed. If the Carlist generals had known of the fall of the commander-in-chief of the Liberals, they would doubtless have made an offensive movement and followed up their advantage from their trenches.

In spite of illness, General Echague, the commander of the second army corps, took the supreme command, and after consultation with the other generals, ordered a retreat. The Liberal army had suffered great losses in officers and men, and the attempt to finish the war at one blow had proved a complete failure.

The news of the death of the Marquis del Duero caused great delight among the Carlists, but in the rest of Spain was heard with universal regret. It made a particularly painful impression in Madrid, where for more than a generation he had been a familiar and conspicuous figure. It was also an

event of great political importance. For a second time, as by the assassination of Prim, Serrano saw removed from the scene the one man who would soon have overshadowed the brilliant personality of the conqueror of Alcolea. If General Concha had brought the operations against Estella to a successful issue and had survived, he would, at the head of his victorious troops, undoubtedly have played the part of the General Monk of the Spanish Restoration. By his death the hopes of the Alfonsists, who had confidently counted upon this turn of events, were for a moment checked.

There was now an opportunity for Serrano to succeed to the possibilities of the dead general by placing himself at the head of the army, by displaying the same energy he had displayed at Somorostro, by collecting in the valley of the Ebro forces more numerous than those of Concha, and by executing in person a successful movement upon Estella. There was also an opportunity for taking advantage of the discouragement of the Alfonsist officers in the Army of the North in order to replace them by others who still adhered to the Revolution. The President of the Executive Power did none of these things; he did not even appoint to the command of the Army of the North the general whom all regarded as fitted by ability and experience to succeed Concha. Instead of General Moriones, the Government assigned General Zavala, the President of the Council of Ministers, to the post of commander-in-chief, while Moriones was appointed to the command of the second army corps.

The regret which was felt at the Liberal repulse

from Estella was now increased to dismay by a bold and successful inroad of the Carlists to within sixty miles of the capital. The traveller in Spain who will undergo the inconvenience of a slow and roundabout railway journey, and will be contented with somewhat humble accommodations, will be well repaid for his trouble by discovering in Cuenca, the capital of the province of the same name, one of the quaintest and most picturesque of the many quaint and picturesque towns of the Peninsula. It was against this place that Don Alfonso the younger, brother of the Pretender, now made a sudden raid. He had collected for this purpose the scattered bands which harried the rich provinces of Catalonia, and he was accompanied by his wife, Doña Blanca, a lady whose tastes and temper seem to have been in entire harmony with such an expedition and with such a cause.

The attack began on July 12 and raged until the 15th, when the small and exhausted garrison was unable any longer to resist the general assault of the Carlists. Street by street, and house by house, the Liberals defended every inch of ground. The defenders of religion and legitimacy, as the Carlists claimed to be, pillaged houses, churches, and public buildings, and spared neither age nor sex. Those who surrendered under promise of safety were ruthlessly shot down. The venerable bishop of Cuenca besought the intercession of the wife of Don Alfonso, who was present with her husband, an impassive spectator of the massacre. "Go and thank God," was the stern reply of this daughter of the Church, "that you too are not among them."

After having signalled their victory by every exhibition of barbarity, the Carlists fell back before General Pavia, who had been appointed to the command of the Army of the Centre, and who re-occupied Cuenca.

The attitude of the French Government towards the Carlists was a source of great dissatisfaction in Madrid. It would have seemed natural for the French Republic, both from intent and inclination, to show some sympathy with the nation which was endeavouring to establish a democratic government on the other side of the Pyrenees. The policy of the Government of Marshal MacMahon was the direct opposite of this. The Legitimist and Catholic supporters of Don Carlos and the juntas of the Pretender in the frontier cities of France were allowed to extend all possible aid to the enemies of the Spanish Republic. Bayonne, Pau, Perpignan, and other towns of the frontier swarmed with Carlists. The French custom house officers and gendarmes paid no attention to the contraband of war shipped under the pretence of merchandise. The Spanish Ambassador at Paris, the Marquis de la Vegade Armijo, had made unavailing appeals to the French Foreign Office to secure a stricter supervision of the Pyrenean frontier.

In striking contrast to this short-sighted and foolish policy of republican France was the attitude of imperial Germany. Public opinion in the latter country had been grievously excited by the murder at Villatuerta of a German newspaper correspondent, Captain Schmidt, who had fallen into the hands of the Carlists. In adopting a policy of marked benevo-

lence toward the Government of General Serrano, the German Chancellor not only injured the cause of Don Carlos, but also laid the foundation of the cordial relations which existed between the governments of Madrid and Berlin after the Restoration, and which were only temporarily interrupted by the affair of the Caroline Islands. It was also a part of the policy of isolating France from the rest of Europe, which was adopted by Bismarck after the close of the Franco-Prussian war.

Prince Hohenlohe, the German ambassador in Paris, was instructed to support the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo in calling the attention of the French Government to the encouragement and help extended to the Carlist cause from the French border. The Government of Berlin also intervened with the Powers to secure their recognition of the Government of General Serrano. The difficulty lay in deciding whether recognition should be given the Spanish Republic or the Dictatorship. The result of the negotiations was that all the Governments entered into official relations with the Executive Power except Russia. In the address made by the representatives of the Powers on the presentation of their letters of credence, Serrano was addressed as Duke, or as President of the Executive Power. No mention was made of the Republic, even by the representative of the French Republic, although Spain was almost as much a republic as France. The result of German diplomacy, which aimed to establish friendly relations with Spain while it encouraged the coldness between that country and France, was entirely successful; but its success was

due more to the behaviour of the French Government¹ than to any other cause.

With the death of Concha and the appointment of General Zavala as his successor, the prosecution of the war came to a standstill. With the exception of some bursts of activity on the part of General Moriones and his capture of Oteiza, the months of August and September were passed in complete inaction. In the beginning of August the Carlists again appeared in the neighbourhood of Cuenca. Seo de Urgel fell into their hands by treachery. They even crossed the Ebro between two corps of the Liberal army, and plundered and levied a ransom upon Calahorra, a town on the Liberal side of the river, not far from Logroño. In view of the dissatisfaction expressed at the failure which characterised his conduct of the operations, Zavala sent in his resignation, and on September 4 Serrano modified his Ministry. Sagasta became President of the Council, though he retained the Interior Department. General Serrano Bedoya became Minister of War, and Navarro Rodrigo succeeded Alonso Martinez as Minister of Justice. The retiring Ministers joined the ranks of the Alfonsists. Their successors were both Conservatives of the immediate surroundings of Serrano and Sagasta.

The Radicals again saw themselves excluded from any share in the Government, which remained in the hands of the Constitutionals. Ruiz Zorilla, who had withdrawn from public life since the abdication of King Amadeo, now reappeared on the scene. He summoned a meeting of the chiefs of the Radical

¹ Lauser, *Geschichte Spaniens*; A. Houghton, *Les Origines de la Restauration des Bourbons en Espagne*.

party, on which occasion he declared that the experiment of the Democratic Monarchy had proved that a foreign king was impossible; the only choice now left to the country was the Republic or the Restoration; he had never been a Republican, but he preferred the Republic to the return of the Bourbons. Thus the ancient Radical leader and former Prime Minister of King Amadeo was transformed into a Republican of the most advanced type. From that day Ruiz Zorilla was regarded as the leader of the disorderly elements of the Republicans; and although in exile, every conspiracy, every disturbance of a Republican origin after the Restoration was with more or less justice accredited to him.

General Laserna had succeeded General Zavala as commander-in-chief of the Army of the North. The inactivity still continued, until, at the end of October, the Carlists under Don Carlos himself began to besiege Irun, the first Spanish town entered by the traveller from France on the route of Bayonne and Hendaye. The Pretender had taken measures to prevent the arrival of succour from San Sebastian, and had entrenched troops upon the neighbouring hills to command the road and railway between San Sebastian and Irun. As was usual, the Government bestirred itself in the face of absolute necessity. General Laserna was ordered to take fifteen thousand picked men, to proceed by forced marches to Santander, and to transport the men by sea to San Sebastian. In obedience to these orders, the siege of Irun was raised without difficulty, and the Liberal troops entered the city on November 10, 1874.

This expedition aroused great enthusiasm among

the Liberals of the North. They believed that a movement which entailed so much labour and expense would not be limited to raising the siege of Irun. It was the general opinion that Laserna would occupy the whole of the Spanish side of the frontier, and force the enemy from their principal base of operations and supplies by cutting them off from their communications with France. Since the operations around Bilbao, there had been no opportunity so favourable for striking a mortal blow at the cause of the Pretender. The Carlists showed the same symptoms of discouragement and defection as after the siege of Bilbao. Great was the surprise, therefore, in the army and among the Liberals of the Basque Provinces, when General Laserna, in reply to his report of the success of the operations around Irun, received a telegram instructing him to embark his troops at San Sebastian and to withdraw to his former position on the banks of the Ebro. The Army of the North, therefore, withdrew from Irun, leaving only a few battalions. A temporary check was the sole result of the elaborate and successful operations to raise the siege, and was the last movement of importance against the Carlists during the Republic.

The withdrawal of the Liberal forces produced the same effect as after the siege of Bilbao. The Carlists regained their courage and reappeared as soon as the army of General Laserna had vanished, cut the communications with San Sebastian, and again prepared to invest Irun.

In the meantime the movement in favour of the Restoration was becoming day by day more imposing. In the middle of November rumours of an Alfonsist

rising were rife in the capital, and the majority of the nation began to assume an attitude of expectancy. Alfonso of Bourbon was a student at the English military school of Sandhurst, and had just completed his seventeenth year. On November 20 a document was published over the signature of the grandees of Spain and the nobility of Madrid and the provinces, for the ostensible purpose of congratulating the young Prince on reaching his seventeenth birthday. In this address an effort was cleverly made to call attention to the constitutional character of the future Monarchy. After alluding to the school of misfortune through which the Prince had passed, and to the brilliant success of his studies in France and Austria, the address concluded as follows: "We rejoice at seeing your attention fixed upon the English nation, which is the true model of a constitutional monarchy. There you can enjoy the spectacle offered by a people among whom tradition possesses the greatest stability, the laws receive the greatest respect, and the love of country finds its most glowing development. In every family, in every society, in every province of the United Kingdom you can recognise and estimate how much strength and prosperity is offered by a monarchy which, although manifold in its forms and extending under every sky, still guards and holds firm to its national integrity. The undersigned grandees of Spain and the nobility, faithful to their traditions, firm in their belief, devoted to their legitimate King, and closely united to the representative institutions of their country, wish Your Majesty all good fortune, and pray God, through whom kings rule and by whom

kings are endowed with righteousness, that you may find the reward of your noble effort, and become in every way a prince worthy of the name you bear, of the century in which you live, and of the country which saw your birth."

In reply to this address of the Spanish nobility and to other felicitations which he received from Spain, Alfonso published a manifesto from Sandhurst, dated December 1, which was evidently from the pen of Canovas del Castillo. The eminent leader of the Alfonsists had never wavered in his policy of opposition to a pronunciamiento by the army in favour of his Prince. He still believed that the true policy of his party was to allow the Government of Serrano to exhaust itself, in order that when no substitute for it seemed possible elsewhere, when there appeared no possibility of a stable government by any other means, the Prince of Asturias might then be summoned and greeted as a preserver. He now regarded the time as ripe for the publication of a royal programme in which there could be found something to appeal to all the classes who had begun to tire of the Revolution, as well as to the natural supporters of the Monarchy. The statement that Serrano was finally to take command in person of the Army of the North, and by a victory over the Carlists to make a last effort to prop his tottering Dictatorship, had no doubt a certain influence upon the mind of Canovas in prompting him to take this step at this especial time. The programme before the people could be regarded as a counter-move against Serrano; and with this enunciation of the inducement offered by the new monarchy, he believed that the youthful claim-

ant could wait and allow events to take their course.

The following is the manifesto which Prince Alfonso of Bourbon issued from Sandhurst. It bears the date of December 1, but was not allowed by the Government to appear in the Spanish press until towards the end of the same month.

“I have received from Spain, as well as from some of my fellow countrymen living in France, a large number of birthday congratulations. All who have written me show a like conviction that it is only the re-establishment of the Constitutional Monarchy that can put an end to the oppression, the uncertainty, and the cruel perturbations which Spain is undergoing. They tell me that the majority of our countrymen already recognise it, and that before long all conscientious men will be upon my side, regardless of their political antecedents, because they will understand that they need have no fear of repudiation either by a monarch who is new and unprejudiced or by a régime which is to-day imposing itself upon the country for the very reason that it represents union and peace.

“I know neither how nor when this hope may be realised, nor even whether it will ever be realised at all. I can only say that I shall leave nothing undone to make myself worthy of the difficult mission of re-establishing in our noble nation concord, order, and political liberty, if God in his lofty designs entrusts me with this mission.

“By virtue of the spontaneous and solemn abdication of my august mother, as generous as she was unfortunate, I am the sole representative of monarchi-

cal rights in Spain. This right is rooted in the legislature of ages, confirmed by all historic precedents, and indissolubly bound to the representative institutions which never failed to operate legally during the thirty-five years which elapsed from the beginning of my mother's reign until, when still a child, with all my family, I first trod upon foreign soil.

“The nation being now bereft of every public right and indefinitely deprived of its liberties, it is natural that it should turn its eyes toward that constitutional right to which it has been accustomed, and to those free institutions which did not prevent it from defending its independence in 1812, nor from finishing another civil war in 1840. It owed besides to those institutions many years of constant progress, of prosperity, of credit, and even of some glory, — years which it is not easy to blot from the recollection when there are so many still living who remember them. It is for this reason, without doubt, that the only solution which now inspires confidence in Spain is the hereditary and representative Monarchy, which is regarded as a guaranty of rights and interests for which there can be no substitute.

“In the meantime, not only has everything that existed in 1868 been demolished, but also everything which there has been an attempt to create. If the Constitution of 1845 has been in fact abolished, in the same way the Constitution of 1869 has also been abolished; for it was formed on the basis of a monarchy which no longer exists. If a Chamber of Senators and Deputies, constituted without legal form, decreed the Republic, the only Cortes convoked for the deliberate purpose of establishing that

form of government was very soon dissolved by the bayonets of the garrison of Madrid. All political questions are, therefore, still pending, and are still reserved by the present rulers for the free decision of the future. Fortunately the hereditary and constitutional Monarchy possesses in its principles the necessary flexibility and all the qualifications necessary for the solution, in conformity with the wishes and convenience of the nation, of all the problems to which its re-establishment will give rise. It must not be expected that I shall decide anything suddenly or arbitrarily. The Spanish princes in the ancient times of the monarchy decided nothing without the Cortes; and this most righteous rule of conduct I shall not forget in my present condition at a period when all Spaniards are accustomed to parliamentary procedure. When the time has once arrived, it will be easy for a loyal prince and a free people to understand each other and to agree upon the questions to be solved. There is nothing I so much desire as to see my country in this condition, and the hard lesson of these times of trial must powerfully contribute to this end. For none must this lesson be lost, but least of all for the honest and respectable classes of the people, who have been the victims of perfidious sophisms and absurd delusions. All that we see teaches us that the greatest and most prosperous nations in which order, liberty, and justice are the most closely united, are those which most respect their own history. This does not prevent them from observing with attention and following with firm footsteps the progressive march of civilisation. May it be the will of Providence that the

Spanish people shall some day take inspiration from such examples.

“For my part it is a debt I owe to misfortune that I am in contact with the men and conditions of modern Europe; and if Spain does not attain in Europe a position of independence and sympathy as well as a position worthy of her history, it will not be my fault, either now or ever. Whatever my lot may be, I shall not cease to be a good Spaniard, or, like my ancestors, a good Catholic, or truly liberal, as becomes a man of our generation.

“ALFONSO DE BOURBON.

“YORKTOWN (SANDHURST), December 1, 1874.”

This proclamation was skilfully drawn so as to attract all classes. The dyed-in-the-wool Royalists, many of whom preferred even Don Carlos to the Republic, could be gratified by the allusion to the “monarchical right rooted in the legislature of ages, confirmed by all historic precedents;” the more liberal could take comfort in the expressions of veneration for parliamentary government; the fomenters and supporters of the Revolution could still cherish the hope of playing a part in the settlement of the numerous problems to be solved, since they were assured that both the Constitutions of 1845 and 1869 should be regarded as abolished, and that “all political questions are still pending.” For the benefit of the powerful religious element in the country, the young Prince, when he asserted that he was liberal, as became one of his generation, did not forget to declare in the same breath that he was also a good Catholic.

The Government, in view of the continued growth of the Alfonsist movement, of which it was fully informed, had at last decided that it must take some definite step to secure a firmer position in the country. It was resolved that General Serrano should do what many believed he ought to have done long before, — that he should again take command of the Army of the North, and put an end to the war after a series of brilliant operations.

On December 9, the *Official Gazette* announced that the President of the Executive Power would take the field in person. The Government was influenced to take this measure not merely by the appreciation of the benefits to be derived from a decisive victory over the Carlists, but also by the belief that the very presence of the chief of the State would exert a restraining influence upon the Alfonsist inclinations of the officers of the Army of the North. Before the departure of Serrano, prominent posts were assigned to officers on whom the Government thought that it could rely. In September, the important office of Captain-General of Madrid had been entrusted to General Fernando Primo de Rivera. This officer had received rapid advancement during the Revolution, and owed many favours to General Serrano. He had been severely wounded in the assault of San Pedro de Abanto on March 27, 1874, and had been made lieutenant-general on the field of battle. He was proposed for the Cross of St. Ferdinand, the highest distinction that can be given in Spain to a soldier for a feat of arms. The Government believed that there was no question as to his loyalty to the existing order of things. The com-

mand of the Army of the Centre was given to Lieutenant-General Joaquin Jovellar, who had been sent as Captain-General to Cuba by Castelar, and who also owed rapid promotion to the Governments of the Revolution. The Army of Catalonia was entrusted to Lieutenant-General Lopez Dominguez, the nephew of Serrano, who had distinguished himself by the subjection of the insurgents of Carthagena.

On December 9 the President of the Executive Power left the capital, to which he was destined to return only as a private citizen. On the following day he arrived at Logroño, where he paid a visit to Espartero, who was tranquilly spending in this provincial town the closing years of a long and remarkable career.

The arrival of the Duke de la Torre made a favourable impression upon the army, but he had waited too long. Snow had begun to fall, and all the rigour of winter had set in. As soon as the state of the weather permitted him to cross the Ebro, he set out for Castejon for an interview with General Moriones, the commander of the first army corps, of whose capacity and trustworthiness he had the highest opinion. In reply to questions upon the loyalty of the troops as well as upon the military outlook, Moriones stated it to be his belief that the fidelity of his army corps could be relied upon, but that any military operations were impossible in the present state of the weather; and that in view of the abundant rains and snow, any movement on a large scale against the enemy would have to be deferred until the middle of January, or perhaps later.

General Serrano returned to Logroño somewhat

disheartened by this interview. He saw that the brilliant operations against the Carlists, which were the last move left open to him in his somewhat desperate game, must be indefinitely postponed. While the wintry days forced him to inaction, while he gazed upon the increasing snows and continued bad weather, he must have regretted with bitterness the wasted months and lost opportunities. It was a gloomy Christmas that the Duke de la Torre passed at Logroño, where "he spent his time in gazing at the horizon and the barometer, when not occupied with the disquieting reports which Sagasta sent him regarding the state of the country and parties."¹

Many of the military leaders of the Alfonsists had become more emphatic in their dissent from the opinion of Canovas in favour of a policy of what he regarded as masterly inactivity. A number of officers believed that it would be much easier to overthrow the present government before General Serrano had time to gain any material advantage over the enemy, and they viewed with uneasiness the journey of the President of the Executive Power to place himself at the head of the Liberal forces. One of the most impatient and active of these officers was the General of Division Arsenio Martínez Campos. At the time of the departure of General Serrano, this officer was no longer in active command against the Carlists, and had received permission from the Government to fix his residence in Madrid.

About the middle of December, Sagasta received information that General Martínez Campos was pre-

¹ A. Houghton, *Les Origines de la Restauration des Bourbons en Espagne*.

paring a movement affecting the garrison of Madrid and the Armies of the Centre and Catalonia. The Government then ordered the Captain-General of Madrid, General Primo de Rivera, to arrest him. Instead of executing this order, the captain-general appeared before Sagasta and the Minister of War, General Serrano Bedoya, and upon his word of honour responded for the innocence of his companion in arms. "General Martinez Campos," said he, "is incapable of doing anything against honour and duty. To-day honour and duty forbid the raising of any flag so long as the Carlists are in arms. Martinez Campos is my companion in arms. I know his loyalty; I will answer for him as for myself; and I assure the Government that he does not belong to the race of traitors. His arrest at this time would indicate anxiety on the part of the Government for which there is no reason."

In consequence of these assurances the Government decided not to insist upon the arrest of General Martinez Campos, but instructed Primo de Rivera to hold him under strict observation; and this the Captain-General of Madrid faithfully promised to do.

It was true that General Martinez Campos had for some time been the leading spirit in an Alfonsist conspiracy. At the beginning of December he had secured the assent of a number of generals in the three armies; but the appearance of Serrano at Logroño had cooled the enthusiasm of the officers in the Army of the North, who were unwilling to take the lead in a pronunciamiento while the chief of the State was present in command. It seemed too much, so to speak, like a violation of the laws of hospitality.

Martinez Campos was thus compelled to have recourse to the Army of the Centre, where there was one of those most implicated in the movement, Brigadier-General Luis Daban. This general wrote to his brother in Madrid, Colonel Antonio Daban, that the Army of the Centre was well prepared for the movement, but that he could not keep the officers in suspense any longer than the end of the month; and that if General Martinez Campos or some other leader of the Alfonsists was not ready to initiate the movement before that time, he should resign his command and withdraw.

This letter created a great impression upon the mind of Martinez Campos. At the outset he had preferred that the pronunciamiento be made by some more conspicuous leader, or by some general of higher rank than himself, as General Jovellar in the Army of the Centre or General Laserna in the Army of the North. As he saw the occasion slipping from him, he determined to begin the insurrection himself, and in this determination he was encouraged by Colonel Antonio Daban.

Martinez Campos, accompanied by Brigadier-General Bonanza and Colonel Antonio Daban, secretly left Madrid by train on the evening of December 26, 1874. They arrived in Valencia on the 27th, remained in hiding there until the night of the 28th, and then proceeded by carriage to Saguntum. The ancient Roman city, which had so heroically resisted the army of Hannibal more than twenty-one centuries before, was to be awakened from its long oblivion to figure in history once more. The conspirators reached Saguntum late in the night, and proceeded at once

to the quarters of General Luis Daban. There were at Saguntum under the orders of this officer two battalions of infantry, a few squadrons of cavalry, and a very small number of artillery. It was decided that General Martinez Campos, with these troops and with all the forces that could be united to them on the journey, should set out for Valencia.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of December 29 the column was formed, and the troops, ignorant of their destination and of the object of the movement, were ordered to begin the march. At about a mile and a half from Saguntum, the column was halted and formed into a square. General Daban then announced to the troops that the General of Division, Arsenio Martinez Campos, had an important communication to make to them. Martinez Campos, beginning with some hesitation but increasing in vigour as he proceeded, delivered an address in which he declared that the only way to terminate the civil war was to have a flag and "a king representing the old traditions of monarchical and Catholic Spain." He appealed to them to aid in establishing on the throne their legitimate King, Alfonso of Bourbon. The generals and colonels, who were in the plot, cheered lustily, and the cheers were repeated as a matter of course by the other officers and soldiers. There was but one exception. An old captain, stepping out of the ranks, said that during his long life he had never taken part in a pronunciamiento, and that although all his sympathies were with the exiled Prince, he did not intend to begin now. They permitted him to abstain from the oath which was taken by all the other officers, "to defend to the last drop of blood

the flag that they had thus unfurled in the face of the misfortunes of the country, as a propitious sign of redemption, of peace, and of grandeur."

As soon as the pronunciamiento was an accomplished fact, the column set out for Valencia. The commander of the Army of the Centre, General Jovellar, to whom the insurrection caused no surprise, decided not to attempt resistance, and telegraphed to the Government that he had adhered to the movement, in view of the necessity of keeping the Army of the Centre united, in order to make headway against the Carlists and to prevent anarchy. Thus the whole Army of the Centre was won over to the insurgents.

Amid the general defection, there was but one example of loyalty. This was General Castillo, who had so distinguished himself by the heroic defence of Bilbao against the Carlists, and who was now the Captain-General of the Province of Valencia. This officer has to-day in Spain one distinction almost impossible to find among officers of equal rank and prominence. During a long and brilliant career he has never taken part in any pronunciamiento or military insurrection of any kind. He now declared that his honour would not allow him to fail in his duty to the Government to which he owed his appointment. Although devoted to the cause of the Bourbons, and although in his time as colonel of a regiment of engineers he had escorted Isabella II. to the Spanish frontier on her flight from San Sebastian, he denounced the leaders of the insurrection, and in conjunction with the civil governor of the province, attempted to take measures to oppose the movement.

It was only when he saw all resistance impossible that he yielded and requested the Government to relieve him of his command.

On the morning of December 29 the Government was informed by the civil authorities of Valencia of what was taking place in that province. Sagasta immediately summoned a meeting of the Cabinet. Primo de Rivera was ordered to appear. When the conduct of Martinez Campos, of whose loyalty he had given such fervent assurances, was reported to him, he cried out, "Now, more than ever, may the Government count upon me and the garrison of Madrid. The treachery of Martinez Campos compels my loyalty to the greatest sacrifices." When in the evening of the same day he was informed that some distrust was felt as to his own intentions, he replied, pointing to his epaulettes: "I should sully the epaulettes which I owe to the Duke de la Torre and to this Government, if I acted inconsistently with my duty. He who wishes to disturb order, be he Alfonsist or Republican, or whatever else, is a traitor, and deserves to be treated as such."

At one time it occurred to the Ministry to arrest Primo de Rivera himself, and to transfer his important post to some other officer whose devotion to the Revolution was beyond suspicion. They feared, however, that such a measure might cause dissatisfaction among the other officers of the garrison. The Minister of War, General Serrano Bedoya, also protested against the necessity of any such proceeding, and insisted that General Primo de Rivera was entitled to the fullest confidence. The Government, therefore, contented itself with instructing the civil

governor to arrest several important leaders of the Alfonsists, who were suspected of supporting the insurrection. Among these was Canovas del Castillo, who, still faithful to his policy of peaceable evolution, is said to have exclaimed, "We are lost! Everything that is being done is premature. The madness of Martinez Campos will ruin us." He is even reported to have written to several generals, urging them not to support the movement of Martinez Campos, but to await a more favourable occasion.

The reception of the telegram of General Jovellar and the news of the adhesion of the Army of the Centre to the movement made the night of December 29 an anxious one for the Council of Ministers. They had kept the Duke de la Torre informed by telegram of the course of events, and advised him to return to Madrid with the forces on which he could rely. They were somewhat encouraged by the tone of his reply, and by the assurance that he would take the measures necessary for the maintenance of order; and that he would himself direct the movement of the troops upon the capital. Before the adjournment of the Cabinet Council, the following proclamation was drawn up for publication by the *Official Gazette* in the edition of the following morning, the 30th:—

"At the moment when the chief of the State is setting in motion the Army of the North to deliver a decisive blow against the Carlists, and is availing himself of the immense sacrifices which the Government has required of the country, and to which the latter has responded with so noble a patriotism, some of the forces of the Army of the Centre, commanded

by Generals Martinez Campos and Jovellar, have raised in front of the enemy the factious flag of Alfonso of Bourbon.

“This discreditable act, which aims at initiating another civil war, as if there were not already sufficient calamities of every kind weighing upon our country, has fortunately found no echo either in the Armies of the North or of Catalonia, or in any of the different military districts. The Government, which, in this supreme crisis of the nation in the Peninsula and in America, has appealed to all parties calling themselves Liberal to stifle by a common effort the aspirations of absolutism, has an incontestable right and even a sacred duty to characterise harshly and to chastise with all possible rigour a rebellion which, if it should spread, would be advantageous only to Carlism and to demagoguery, and would dishonour us in the eyes of the civilised world. The Ministry, faithful to its purposes and to the engagements it has assumed before the country and Europe, is to-day more than ever resolved to fulfil its duty and will fulfil it.”

On the night of the 29th a crowd thronged the reception of the wife of the President of the Executive Power. All the prominent leaders of the parties of the Revolution were represented. “The conversations in the salons of the Duchess de la Torre were singular, and many of the people of Madrid remember that strange reunion where they spoke aloud the opposite of what they thought or foresaw, where they conversed in corners, in a low voice, as in apartments next to the chamber of a dying man who has not entirely lost his sense of hearing or his conscious-

ness."¹ The wife of General Serrano, whose calm beauty even now seems to defy the ravages of time, bore herself as arrogantly as ever in the midst of that scene which was to be the last of the régime in which she had played so brilliant a part, nor allowed to appear upon her haughty features the slightest trace of the emotion which she must have felt.

At five o'clock in the morning of the 30th the Captain-General of Madrid appeared at the Ministry of War. He gave orders to the troops to allow entrance or exit to no one. In fact, General Primo de Rivera had arrived at the conclusion that it was time for him to make a pronunciamiento before he should be anticipated by some one else.

The Minister of War was sleeping, but, in spite of the earliness of the hour, the Captain-General insisted on seeing him, and presented himself before the Minister with the declaration that the garrison of Madrid not only refused to oppose the insurgents, but on the contrary was determined to join in the movement. Thereupon a violent scene took place between the Captain-General and the Minister of War. General Serrano Bedoya, mortified and angered at seeing himself betrayed and abandoned by an officer of whose loyalty he had given such emphatic assurances, seized a revolver and threatened to shoot himself. Primo de Rivera lost countenance before this emotion, and fell back upon renewed protestations. He assured the Minister of War that he would do his duty to the death, and that he would use every effort to restrain the garrison. "I will make

¹ A. Houghton, *Les Origines de la Restauration des Bourbons en Espagne*.

every sacrifice," he continued, "to keep them to their duty; if I cannot succeed, I repeat that I would rather die a thousand times than to be wanting in duty to the Government in return for the confidence which it has imposed upon me."

General Serrano Bedoya was somewhat comforted by these protestations. At his request a Cabinet meeting was called, at which it was decided that the Minister of War, accompanied by the Captain-General, should visit the barracks and investigate and report upon the attitude of the troops. He found sympathy for the cause of Alfonso openly expressed in the quarters of the engineers and artillery, and in the other barracks the majority of the officers were resolved "to maintain order and discipline, but not disposed to oppose the movement begun by Generals Martinez Campos and Jovellar at Saguntum and Valencia."

On the return of the Minister of War and the Captain-General from the tour of inspection, between five and six in the afternoon of December 30, 1874, the Ministry of the Provisional Government of the Republic was convoked for the last time. On hearing the report of the Minister of War and his statement that the Captain-General of Madrid was also about to adhere to the movement, they placed themselves in telegraphic communication with General Serrano, who had announced his arrival at the station of Tudela. One after the other, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Public Works, and the President of the Council of Ministers held at the telegraph instrument a conference with the President of the Executive Power. They informed him that

almost the whole of the garrison was prepared to unite with the Alfonsists, and that the remainder refused to fire on their comrades; that the Captain-General of Madrid admitted that the new Monarchy which they were about to establish ought to avoid a contest, and to count to a certain extent on the assent of the present chief of the State; that the captain-general would not oppose the coming of Serrano to Madrid, but that the garrison feared a collision if he came with troops; the captain-general would answer, however, for the safety and authority of the President if he decided to come to the capital, and was ready to confer with the President, if he so desired.

The Duke de la Torre replied that there was no necessity of his conferring with any one except the Ministers, and that neither alone nor accompanied would he go to the capital under the tutelage of the Captain-General of Madrid; that he had a train ready with one battalion, and seven others were on the march. He must, however, loyally state two facts: first, that he did not wish a collision, because the Carlists, the common enemy, would be the only ones to be benefited; secondly, that General Laserna and other generals had informed him that morning that in their opinion the troops would refuse to fire on their comrades. He could arrive at Madrid rapidly only by taking a single battalion; to take the others and the artillery would delay him two or three days.

In reply to the suggestion that resistance might be possible at some point outside of Madrid, he answered that if the Carlists were not in front, he should have himself proposed such a solution, but that his patriot-

ism forbade his allowing three Governments to be established in Spain. The conference then closed by the following statement from Sagasta in behalf of the entire Ministry: "The Ministry believe that you are acting with the most elevated patriotism, but our loyalty made it our duty to propose to you such a step. Matters being as they are, it appears to us that you may remain at Tudela and suspend the movement of troops upon Madrid. In this hour of difficulty, more for the country than for ourselves, when we are taking leave of you for perhaps a long time, we send you an affectionate embrace, and hope that you will send in exchange a word of recognition for the honesty, loyalty, and profound devotion with which we have served you."

To this the Duke de la Torre replied: "Receive, my dear friends, my immense gratitude for your friendship and your affection; for the loyalty, honesty, and energy with which, in these times of such great calamity, you have discharged your arduous duties. Recall me with tenderness to the recollection of your families, and I recommend to all of you my beloved children and my dear wife. Farewell, my noble and dear friends."

After this conference the Cabinet meeting was adjourned to meet at nine o'clock in the Ministry of War. On beginning their deliberations at that hour, the Ministers were informed that the court and environs of the Ministry of War, or the Palace of Buenavista, as it was called, — the ancient palace of Don Manuel Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, who had been the foremost figure in the Spain of the Napoleonic era, — was filled with troops. A few

minutes later, the Captain-General of Madrid, General Primo de Rivera, entered and announced that a committee of the garrison of Madrid wished to speak with the members of the Government. When this committee appeared, Primo de Rivera placed himself at its head, and with a hesitating voice spoke to Sagasta as follows: "Mr. President, I see myself in the unpleasant necessity of announcing to you that the garrison of Madrid has joined the movement of the Army of the Centre, and that a new Government will be formed."

To this Sagasta replied with emphasis: "In the name of the Government and the Spanish people, I raise a protest against the act of violence which is being committed here. The Government does not answer by an appeal to arms, because, after a consultation with the chief of the State, and in accord with him, Spanish before everything and inspired by patriotism which is lacking in others, it is unwilling to summon to its defence any other forces than those which it has organised and armed to defend order and to conquer the Carlists. These are the same forces that are in insurrection to-day. The Government, therefore, retires; but not without an energetic protest against this attempt, against this act of violence, the characterisation of which I leave to the honourable men of all parties, to the conscience of the chivalrous Spanish people, and to the impartial judgment of history."

Thus the Ministers of the last Government of the Revolution, the victors of the *coup d'état* of less than a year before, were in their turn compelled to yield to an act of violence from which there was no appeal.

As they retired from the Ministry of War, they could see in the corridors and on the stairways the hastening crowd of officers and notabilities of the Alfonsist party, who, in more senses than one, were ascending as the late Government was descending.

After his telegraphic conference with the Ministry, in which it was decided to make no attempt at resistance, General Serrano ordered all further concentration of troops to cease. He informed the generals who had followed him to Tudela, as well as the officers of his own staff, that he released them from all engagements, and that they were at liberty to act as they saw fit. In reply to a telegram of General Primo de Rivera, communicating the pronunciamiento of the garrison of Madrid, he stated "that in front of the Carlists, there could not be three Governments in Spain, and that he would remain at his post as general-in-chief only until he should be relieved." As soon as he learned that General Laserna had been appointed to succeed him in the command of the Army of the North, he took the train for Saragossa, accompanied only by two aides-de-camp. From Saragossa the ex-President of the Executive Power of the Republic made the passage of the Pyrenees — a difficult journey in the middle of winter — and proceeded to Biarritz, that haven of refuge for Spanish exiles.

On the withdrawal of General Serrano from the command of the Army of the North, General Laserna, his successor, issued the following order of the day: "Soldiers, the Army of the Centre, the garrison of Madrid, and at this moment the whole of Spain, have proclaimed Don Alfonso XII. From to-day you

have a war-cry to rouse your enthusiasm and to lead you to victory; for this cry means order and liberty, and is a certain pledge of the regeneration of our country. Soldiers, long live Alfonso XII!" The soldiers and non-commissioned officers listened to the reading of the order of the day in silence, without protestation but without enthusiasm.

At Madrid, General Primo de Rivera was now master of the situation, and immediately gave instructions for the release of Canovas and the other Alfonsist leaders, who had been placed under arrest by the orders of the previous Government. He then sent the following telegram to the provincial governors: "The Armies of the Centre and the North, the garrisons of Madrid and of the other provinces, have proclaimed Don Alfonso of Bourbon King of Spain. Madrid and the places where this event is known receive it with immense enthusiasm. The Duke de la Torre has declared that in view of the attitude of the army, he will not oppose the movement. The members of the Cabinet presided over by Señor Sagasta have just placed their resignations in my hands."

The thorough organisation which the Alfonsists had effected under the supervision of Canovas and Romero Robledo enabled them to take charge of affairs at once, without any interval between the retirement of the ministers of Serrano and the beginning of the Monarchy.

Canovas was armed with a decree dated August 22, 1873, and signed by Alfonso, which authorised him to appoint a ministry to act as a Regency until the arrival of the King. In recognition of his ser-

vices in the pronunciamiento, he gave the portfolio of War to General Jovellar. The Departments of the Colonies and of the Interior were entrusted to Lopez de Ayala and Romero Robledo. These were both men of the Revolution, who had turned to Alfonso after the abdication of Amadeo. By a singular coincidence, Lopez de Ayala held in the first Cabinet of the Restoration the same portfolio he had held in the first Cabinet of the Revolution. The remaining departments were distributed among Royalists who had been in retirement from public life during the Revolution, ancient Moderados, or members of the Liberal Union, who had remained loyal to the Bourbons. During the absence of General Jovellar, who was with the Army of the Centre, General Primo de Rivera was to be acting Minister of War.

Almost the first act of the new Ministry was to promote General Martinez Campos to the rank of lieutenant-general; and according to the decree published in the *Official Gazette*, this promotion was in consideration of his services against the insurgent Federalists at Valencia and Carthagena and in the operations against the Carlists. No mention was made of his services on December 29. He was also appointed to the command of the Army of the Centre, to succeed General Lopez Dominguez, who had caused some irritation in the Ministry by telegraphing "that he would yield to any Government having the sanction of the national will."

The news of the pronunciamiento in favour of Alfonso at Saguntum was communicated to him at the Palace Basilewski in Paris, the residence of

Isabella II. during her exile. In reply to the telegrams of congratulation, he telegraphed to Canovas on January 5 as follows: —

“Your Excellency, to whom I entrusted my powers on the 23rd of August, 1873, informs me that I have been unanimously proclaimed and called to occupy the throne of my ancestors by the valiant and the heroic Spanish people. No one can interpret my sentiments of affection and gratitude to the nation so well as Your Excellency, to whom I owe so much, and to whom I am grateful for your great services, and the Ministry you have appointed in the exercise of the authority I have conferred upon you, and which I confirm to-day. You cannot better interpret my sentiments than by ratifying the opinions contained in my manifesto of the 1st of last December, and by affirming my loyal intention of executing it, and my lively desire that the solemn act of my entrance into my dear country may be a pledge of peace, of union, of forgetfulness of past discord; and that its consequence may be the inauguration of an era of true liberty, in which, by uniting our efforts, and with the protection of Heaven, we may obtain new days of prosperity and grandeur for Spain.” On January 7 the King embarked at Marseilles upon the Spanish frigate which had been sent with the new Minister of Marine, the Marquis of Molins, to bring him to his kingdom.

The ease with which the movement in favour of the son of Isabella II. had been brought to a successful issue was mainly due to one circumstance: the weariness of the Spanish nation at the end of 1874. In six years the Spaniards had seen a panorama of

governments pass before them, — the Provisional Government, the Regency of Serrano, the Democratic Monarchy; the Republic, with its four Presidents, its civil and military dictatorships, — each a failure and each in turn replaced by another failure. The result was a bankrupt treasury, a ruined commerce, the continuance of the civil war at home and the insurrection abroad, and a feeling of anxiety and unrest in all classes of society.

If the Revolution had not, "like Saturn, devoured its children," it had certainly consumed all the Governments to which it had given birth. It had gone farther than the majority of its own advocates had expected or desired. The Republic, its natural outcome and the form of government in best accord with the spirit of the Constitution of 1869, was rendered impossible by the jealousies and incapacity of the Republicans themselves. The final result of the course of reaction which began with the *coup d'état* of General Pavia was never in doubt. The Restoration was the result of the logic of events, — a solution to be adopted when all else had failed; and before Alfonso XII. had even entered his capital, his subjects, with that remarkable proclivity for looking upon the bright side of everything, which is the characteristic of their race, had already begun to contemplate the new reign with pleasing anticipation.

The Royalists — those who had been faithful to the exiled dynasty — saw themselves covered with honour, the foremost figures of a brilliant and superb régime. The Revolutionists of September were preparing to re-enter the political arena, comforting themselves with the thought that much of the work of their

Revolution could not be undone, and that the Spain of Ferdinand VII. and Isabella II. was gone forever. The patient soldier amid the snows of the North, who recked little of pronunciamientos and whose only politics was obedience to his superiors, hoped that it might mean an earlier return to his home and fireside; while the plain citizen, whose sole ambition was to follow his daily occupation undisturbed, nursed a feeble expectation that the return of Don Alfonso of Bourbon to the throne of his ancestors might bless his exhausted country with an era of reconciliation and peace.